ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARY
Minneapolis, Minnesota


# The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXIV NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1927 No. 3212


## Contents


EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS ..... 77
EDITORIALS:
- No, Mr. Coolidge—No! ..... 80
- What About the Catholics? ..... 81
- Art and Revolution ..... 81
- The Ship Subsidy Again ..... 82

NO WAR WITH MEXICO: Cartoons from the American Press ..... 83
MY FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE AS SECRETARY OF STATE. By William Hard ..... 84
MEXICO'S BLOODLESS VICTORY. By Carleton Beals ..... 85
THE EAGLE AND THE RED BIRD: A FABLE. By Arthur Warner ..... 86
WHAT THE WORLD THINKS OF AMERICA ..... 88
DOLLARS AND BULLETS: A HISTORY. By Lewis S. Gannett ..... 89
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter ..... 91
CORRESPONDENCE ..... 91
BOOKS AND PLAYS:
- Death and Dancing. By Donald Kirkley ..... 93
- First Glance. By Mark Van Doren ..... 93
- Secretary Houston Recalls. Oscar T. Crosby ..... 93
- The World's Disillusion. By Donald Douglas ..... 94
- Oil Intrigues. By Louis Fischer ..... 95
- A La Viennese. By Alter Brody ..... 95
- When Quakers Turned Adventurers. By Edward Thomas ..... 96
- Books in Brief ..... 96
- Drama: Who's Afraid? By Joseph Wood Krutch ..... 97
- Interesting Books of 1926. Chosen by Oswald Garrison Villard ..... 97

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- The Cause of the Conflict with Mexico ..... 98



OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor

Associate Editors

LEWIS S. GANNETT

DOROTHY GRAFFE VAN DOREN

ARTHUR WARNER JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Managing Editor FREDA KIRCHWEY

Literary Editor MARK VAN DOREN

Contributing Editors

JOHN A. HOBSON LUDWIG LEWISOHN H. L. MENCKEN

NORMAN THOMAS CARL VAN DOREN

DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager



Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising: Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 13, Woburn Square, London, W. C. 1, England.


*WE urge every reader of* The Nation *who believes in peace to write or telegraph a protest against the Administration's Mexican policy and a demand for the removal of our marines from Nicaragua to President Coolidge, Secretary Kellogg, and to his or her Senators. The crisis is not over; it remains grave.*

JUST AT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT, Mr. William Floyd, editor of the *Arbitrator*, has issued a call to all peace-lovers to take part in an American arbitration crusade. His aim is simple and unquestionable. He seeks to induce our government to outlaw war by negotiating treaties with every nation, these treaties to provide for obligatory arbitration or adjudication of all disputes. The Bryan treaties were not obligatory; the Root treaties are vitiated by those damnable old-fashioned provisions excepting questions of vital interest and national honor—as if nations were like silly coffee-house duelists of the seventeenth century. No sincere advocate of peace can decline to support this proposal. Every army officer who declares that he urges preparedness for the sake of peace should be for it since it may save his life and those of multitudes of his countrymen. To further this crusade, which we unqualifiedly approve and indorse, Mr. Floyd is offering $500 in prizes, the details of which he sets forth in a letter on the correspondence page of this issue of *The Nation*.

IT MUST BE an astounding experience for a boy of seventeen years, hitherto acclimated only to a modest reputation as a long-distance champion swimmer in Canada, to clamber up a rocky shore in California, after fifteen hours, forty-five minutes in the water, and find himself famous wherever newspapers are printed throughout this somewhat spacious earth. George Young found himself standing in the dark on a lonely beach at 3.06 a. m. on a chill morning, yet surrounded by newspaper correspondents and photographers while a crowd of vaudeville agents were pressing in to offer him highly paid engagements in addition to the $25,000 prize he had already won as the only one of 102 contestants to finish the race from Catalina Island to the mainland. George covered some thirty miles against baffling tides in water of fifty-seven degrees, succeeding where three conquerors of the English Channel failed. Two women, Martha Steger and Margaret Hauser, remained in the water four hours longer than George, but could not finish. What, we wonder, will George do with the $25,000 and the easier money to follow it? That will be a sterner test than the Catalina Island Channel, but a boy who beat his way from Toronto to Little Rock on a second-hand motorcycle, hitch-hiked the rest of the way to Los Angeles, and pledged his prize money to save his mother from work in the kitchen, should weather it.

THE SURGING TIDES of Chinese national feeling sweep higher and higher. The foreign-trained leaders of the Cantonese Government are powerless to check the outbreaks of resentment which have been piling up for decades. The British Concession at Hankow has not been returned to the English; and the French and Japanese there are questioning the desirability of clinging to their footholds. Ten foreign gunboats guard the tiny foreign island of Shameen, a quarter mile long, lest Chinese mobs cross the two bridges which separate it from Canton—an amazing example of the panic in which the foreign territory-grabbers find themselves today. The Peking Government, hitherto regarded as pro-foreign, is demanding that the territorial concessions which foreign Powers have appropriated in Tientsin be returned to China. At Foochow angry mobs have raided foreign mission buildings. Thus Nationalist ideas spread, even at a moment when the Nationalist armies are temporarily checked. Meanwhile the Belgian Government has sagely canceled its protests and decided to negotiate a new treaty with China on a basis of reciprocal equality; it is even reported ready to return its Tientsin Concession. Representative Stephen G. Porter, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of our House of Representatives, has presented a resolution proposing a similar policy for America. The adoption of this resolution would do much to restore that prestige which the United States, by her timid hesitations and waiting upon the British, is losing in the East.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FASCISM HAS BECOME A RELIGION. Little boys are being inoculated with it in their early childhood; at eighteen they are solemnly and formally initiated into the Fascist militia. The very words of the Ten Commandments have been paraphrased to make a Fascist creed: "I am Italy, thy mother, thy sovereign, thy goddess. Thou shalt have no other mother, sovereign, or goddess above me. Thou shalt honor the Government, keep festivals. . . ." With all due respect to the leaders of the Fascist movement, we prefer the ringing, noble words of the original commandments as issued to Moses. The terms "mother," "sovereign," and "goddess" used interchangeably are confusing and misleading. They put the burden of Fascist domination on the shoulders of a vague female figure labeled "Italy" when as a matter of fact the instigator, head, guiding spirit, the leader, author, founder, inventor of Fascism, who had the idea all by himself and is carrying it through almost single-handed, is none other than our exclusively male and unmotherly friend Mussolini. Meanwhile, the Pope expresses his fears for the religion of Italy's young men. An impartial judge would say that the Fascists are substituting one intolerant religion for another. But there are no impartial judges; which is one reason why we find ourselves on the side of the Pope.

CONGRESS, SAYS THE SUPREME COURT, has the right to compel witnesses to attend its hearings, and recreant witnesses may be haled before it for citation for contempt. It was in the case of Mal Daugherty, Harry's banker brother, that this decision was handed down; but the decision also affects the whole group of gentlemen who sought to cloak their actions behind a pretense that Senate committees were invading judicial functions—Samuel Insull, the public-utility millionaire who financed Mr. Smith's fight to become Illinois's Senator; Thomas F. Cunningham, one of Mr. Vare's Philadelphia backers; and other campaign "angels" and oil men. We hail this decision as a victory for common sense and justice. In recent years Senate committees have become the greatest bulwark of decency in the nation. When the executive departments stank with corruption a group of fearless Senators plowed into the stinking mess and exposed the rottenness of officialdom. Their work should have been done by the Department of Justice, but that, under Harry Daugherty, was rather a Department of Injustice. And without the power of the Senate to compel the attendance of witnesses the nation might, in a similar crisis, find itself gagged and bound by technicalities of the law, unable to free itself or even to expose its enemies. We hope the decision will encourage "Jim" Reed to probe further into the buying of elections.

IT IS TO BE HOPED that George R. Dale, editor of the Muncie (Indiana) *Democrat*, will not drop his effort to have his condemnation for contempt reviewed by the United States Supreme Court merely because that tribunal has declined to consider the case upon its first presentation. The action of the tribunal was due to a failure to present a sufficiently complete record of the proceeding in the lower court, and does not prevent another application in the required manner. The case, discussed in our issue of August 18, 1926, page 142, is important because it sets a new mark in the absurdity and autocracy of the courts in the suppression of freedom of the press by means of the contempt process. Mr. Dale, who had long been fighting political corruption and the Ku Klux Klan, was arrested on some probably trumped-up charges. He called these charges a frame-up in his newspapers, and was sentenced to a fine and imprisonment for contempt of court. He then offered to prove the charges and was punished again. The Supreme Court of Indiana reversed the second sentence but upheld the first on the ground that a plea of truth was no defense in a case of contempt. This ridiculous ruling should be challenged before our highest tribunal.

IF THE LINEN-WASHING now going on in the labor unions were likely to result in fresh, clean leadership friends of labor might be happier. But apparently we are witnessing a war in which the old leaders are seeking to smash all opposition by using the Communist bogy. There can be no doubt that the Communists and near-Communists were disastrously ineffective in the recent strike of the ladies' garment workers; there can be no question, either, it seems to us, that Communist discipline makes free cooperation in union meetings on a give-and-take basis extremely difficult, and that Communist principles allow scant leeway for negotiated settlements. But to leap from these premises to the conclusion that all Communists must be ousted from the unions and all Communist-controlled locals reorganized is a long and unwarranted jump. The Communists are not responsible for the worst evils of the trade-union movement. Whether the charges that the Communist leaders of the fur workers used union funds to buy police protection for their gangsters be true or not we probably shall never know; but it is certain that gangsterism in the unions antedates the advent on these shores of the word "Communist." The San Francisco building workers who have made slugging a business are no radicals; the conservative leaders of the garment trades today know all too well the gangsters in their industry; the recent exposure of graft in the New York machinists' union was among good old-fashioned anti-Reds. Where the Communists have won power they have done so by calling attention to the weaknesses of the old leadership; and that leadership must do more than expel Communists to regain its prestige. It is significant of the weakness of American labor that the prosperity of 1926 did not prevent a continued decline in the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

AFTER DELIBERATING for more than a year upon the Scopes anti-evolution trial the Supreme Court of Tennessee has arrived at the decision which any plain citizen familiar with conditions in the State could have predicted after five seconds of reflection. By a three-to-two decision it upholds the constitutionality of the law; by a unanimous decision it sets aside the verdict of the lower court in this particular case on the ground that the fine (one hundred dollars) was fixed by the judge instead of the jury; and it unanimously recommends that the case be not retried. Nothing could be more inconclusive or less satisfactory, for it leaves the whole question exactly where it was when the famous trial began. The pretext seized upon for setting aside the verdict is the most insignificant one that could be found and while the recommendation not to retry may not make an appeal to the United States Supreme Court impossible it certainly renders it more difficult. When the original trial was in progress *The Nation's* correspondent quoted as the composite comment of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leading Tennessee citizens: "It's a damn-fool law, but I won't be quoted." The court's decision amounts to just about that. In effect it refuses to condemn the law but it recommends that no attempt be made to enforce it.

"I DON'T BELIEVE IN GOD; I don't believe in Heaven or Hell; I don't believe in the Bible as the inspired work of a god." In these forthright terms Ernest V. Sterry of the Toronto *Christian Inquirer* admits his unbelief. Because of it he has been arrested under a blasphemy statute which has been invoked only two other times in English history. The charge reads: "blasphemous, indecent, and profane libel of and concerning the Holy Scriptures and the Christian religion." Among other things Sterry referred to the "God of the Bible" as an "irate old party who thunders imprecations from the mountain, or mutters and grouches in the tabernacle." It is the frivolous character of his remarks that evidently made them offensive in the eyes of the law. To attack the Christian religion is permissible but to poke fun at it is unlawful. "Publications which in an indecent spirit asperse Christianity . . . in a language calculated and intended to shock the feelings and outrage the belief of mankind are held to be liable to persecution under the act," is the opinion of Crown Attorney Eric Armour. If this point of view should become popular in the United States, which has about every other sort of censorship in some form or other, many publications would suffer. Many writers and artists have dared to laugh at certain aspects of the Christian religion; and laughter at established institutions is the most deadly and penetrating sort of criticism.

IT WAS HEYWOOD BROUN who in a moment of anger at an ill-mannered audience wrote that he wished New York theatergoers might be punished for their lack of manners by waking up some morning and finding that every theater in the city was giving only "Abie's Irish Rose." It was the worst penalty that he could think of. But "Abie's Irish Rose" has passed its two thousandth Broadway performance. The profits of the author, Miss Anne Nichols, have been estimated at five million dollars or more. She has now signed a contract for the production of the play in the movies, which is expected to bring her several million dollars more. There are seven companies now on the road or in New York and an eighth company will produce the play in London next April. For four years and eight months the play has run in New York. No play has had such a success either in America or in Great Britain —unless "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has surpassed it through the decades. And the amazing fact remains that Miss Nichols had to produce it herself as no manager would take it, and that the bulk of the critics dismissed it as trivial and contemptible—the dramatic critic of *The Nation* did not think it worth a notice. To most people this record stands as a dreadful indictment of the taste and standards of American audiences. That, however, is only a narrow view. Despite its lapses of taste and its juvenility, the play has touched the emotions of enormous numbers of people—1,750,000 are believed to have attended its performances in New York City alone—and it has somehow affected them deeply. It has been so faithful a representation of certain phases of our American life that it has struck home. It has had, moreover, the saving merit of humor, which ought not to be overlooked by Miss Elisabeth Marbury, who at the recent dinner of some of *The Nation's* New York readers made an eloquent plea for more laughter and humor on the stage.

THOSE WHO DO NOT TRUST THE CENSOR at that delicate crisis in his career when he must distinguish between decent and indecent literature, between art with a good purpose and art with a bad purpose will be confirmed in their distrust by the recent action of two women investigators from the Illinois Vigilance Association. In Chicago, as in New York, there has been agitation to suppress the "art and sex magazines" so plentifully found these days on news-stands; the New York *World* has made the agitation the basis of its newest campaign. What more inevitable, once persons have been empowered to act in the matter, than that action should be taken against art the purpose of which no one knows. That the editors of "sex magazines" have a certain purpose there can be no doubt. But the two women in question marched into the galleries of Marshall Field and Company, saw seven nudes of which they disapproved, and complained to the police—who ordered the paintings taken down. What was the purpose of the painters of these nudes? They were good painters, say members of the Chicago Art Institute. Surely it is impertinent to ask their purpose—or at least to proceed upon the assumption that one knows. The two vigilantes should have known better. But so should metropolitan newspapers know better than to yell for the creation of public offices which in the very nature of the case can never be filled by educated citizens.

HU SHIH has returned to the United States. Nearly ten years ago he left us—an unassuming Chinese student who had attracted slight attention by winning a student essay prize and editing a Chinese students' magazine. Two years later word came back from China that a magazine referendum had voted him one of the twelve greatest living Chinese—along with a group of men twice or three times his age. Boldly advocating use of a despised vernacular tongue, he did for Chinese what Dante and Petrarch had done for Italian: he opened the doors of literacy to millions who could never have mastered the intricacies of the involved classic tongue. He urged his countrymen to write as they spoke, and he discovered an unsuspected dignity in vernacular works which had been despised by the literati. In the course of centuries the written language had lost contact with life, but life refused to be excluded from literature. The scholars of China despised the novel; Hu Shih picked up scores of wretchedly printed vernacular novels of the last two centuries, found among them masterly honest revelations of market-place life, remote from the studied artificiality of the classical scholars; these he republished, with scholarly introductions—and although the novels were available in cheap editions at a few cents each the more expensive editions sold out at once. The first volume of his unfinished "History of Chinese Philosophy" was the best seller of China for two successive years. He produced prodigiously—poems, dramas, essays —all in the language of the people. It was this literary revolution which made the "mass-education" movement possible. Those who are privileged to hear this professor of philosophy from the National University of Peking lecture will find in him a sensitive artist, a genial philosopher with an intuitive understanding of mass movements.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# No, Mr. Coolidge—No!

SO it is not Nicaragua after all, nor even Mexico, but Moscow that Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg have been gunning for! Once more the American people are asked to believe that the Bolshevists are after us and that we are saving our homes, our firesides, our women, by establishing a front in Nicaragua and letting the "Bolshevist Government" of Mexico know that we shall dominate in Central America and that anyone who gets in our way will be crushed and broken. There it is in its stark nakedness, this new policy to which his followers are giving the name of "the Coolidge doctrine"!

In all our experience American statesmanship has never touched such a low level. Mr. Kellogg's Bolshevist outburst is an insult to the intelligence of every sane American. His quotation of Chicherin's desire to use Mexico as a base for Communist anti-American activity, with his suppression of President Calles's ringing reply telling the Russians to keep their hands off, is proof of a deliberate duplicity which alone ought to compel his retirement from office. No wonder that the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* calls his effort a "dud," that many Republican newspapers say that neither he nor the President made out a case. The truth is that in this emergency the lives of thousands of Americans, the honor of the United States, and the peace of a continent are in the hands of the two most incompetent politicians this country has ever intrusted with its highest offices. Every step the Administration has taken has proved the absence of a clear-cut policy. It has blundered, blundered from one position to another, advanced one excuse after the other. It began by saying that it was merely protecting American property in Nicaragua and then moved on and on until the Bolshevist bogy was trotted out. It is impossible, after reading the documents, to believe that either the President or his Secretary of State really knows or understands the case. What is happening is that they are being led into one position after another by the machinations of subordinates hidden away in minor positions.

Let no one be misled by the apparent improvement in the situation as this issue of *The Nation* goes to press. *There can be no safety in the situation as long as our marines are in Nicaragua and as long as we have a Secretary of State filled with fury and hatred toward Mexico.* True, the fine and outspoken position of such papers as the Springfield *Republican*, the Baltimore *Sun*, the New York *World*, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and many others is cause for great satisfaction, and so is the outpouring of private protests directed to the White House. Many preachers like Henry Sloane Coffin, S. Parkes Cadman, and Harry Emerson Fosdick have spoken admirably. The Methodists and the Masons are making their great influence felt. The united Southern press is whipping the recreant Democratic Senators into line against the Coolidge policy. Many Catholics are dissenting from the anti-Mexican crusade of the Knights of Columbus. But although the forces for peace have gone into action quicker than ever before, the need for them to continue in action is tremendous. The Administration is quite willing that the impression shall go abroad that things are quieting down. But the danger remains. A few shots in Nicaragua, a mob outburst in Mexico against Americans in official or unofficial life, and the fat may be in the fire. If there are attacks upon American property in Tampico—and renegades can easily be hired for that—the fleet and its guns will appear at once. If a pistol-shot in Bosnia could plunge a world into war what may not a shot in Nicaragua or Mexico do?

No, there must be no relaxing of the efforts of every humane and decent American to bring pressure to bear on Washington and let the President know that neither now nor hereafter will this country stand for a policy of force and that the public desires a new Secretary of State, not one who, for physical reasons alone, is unfit for the position he seeks to fill. Above all else Congress should be called in extra session—the new Congress will be far less in favor of the "Coolidge doctrine" than is the present one. It is openly stated in those misguided business and religious circles which seek a conflict with Mexico that action will come as soon as Congress is out of the way. True, there can be no formal declaration of war until Congress votes it, but any Administration can make war, as Woodrow Wilson, to his shame, twice made war in Mexico and once in Haiti—something that profoundly embarrasses the Democrats in the present crisis.

Already the most insidious argument to combat in Congress is the one which says: "Well, we made a mistake in going in but now we are in we must stay in; our prestige demands it"—with the variation that if we should retreat now our actions would be regarded as a sign of weakness by the Latin Americans who "understand no argument except that of force," as one news agency puts it. That is just the way reckless or incompetent statesmen take to insure to themselves support for acts which cannot stand the light of reason. Once the almost inevitable incident occurs, it is "Stand by the flag and the President"—last week a Representative stated that he was for the American President as against the Mexican whatever the former's stand or acts might be. Passion, a misguided patriotism, unreasoning national prejudices—these come into play at once. Already we have the atrocity story. On January 14 the New York *Times* printed on its first page the account of a Mexican boy's tongue being cut out, and the killing of five boys under twenty. Next will come the cutting off of children's hands and women's breasts, and then the crucifixions on barn doors.

Against these things only a steadfast and lasting opposition on the part of every peace-loving person can prevail. The program is simple: The marines must come out of Nicaragua; any dispute with Mexico must be arbitrated. Since Calles has offered to arbitrate even a domestic law, the United States, for so many years the chief advocate of international arbitration, must accept or write itself down a complete hypocrite. The imperialists, the advocates of war are unceasingly at work. Those who believe in international morality and decency must likewise be unceasing in serving notice upon President Coolidge that the American people do not propose to be betrayed into bloodshed in Nicaragua or Mexico, that they still believe in the right of small nations to self-determination, and that they scorn the doctrine that war-might gives us the right to say how people shall live or think or act in any weaker country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# What About the Catholics?

THE uprising of the American people against the attempt of the Administration to plunge this country into the sea of imperialist war has been inspiring. Press, pulpit, and lay platform have rung—after a period of hesitating doubt of the facts—with appeals for peaceful arbitration. The most discouraging feature has been the silence of the Catholics.

A Catholic, in this crisis, has been torn by two allegiances. His church is being persecuted in Mexico. The present Mexican Government, convinced that the power of the church is an obstacle to progress, has deliberately sought to destroy its power and subject it to the temporal authority. In that effort it has trampled on old church liberties. Naturally Catholics in the United States have been aroused to protest. A liberal may believe that Mexico's war upon the church is a natural outgrowth of the latter's history, but he cannot expect a Catholic to agree with him.

*The Nation* is not with those who would establish frontiers for protests. We believe in international public opinion. We have made our protests against outrages in Ireland and India, against French brutality in Syria, against Polish pogroms and Italian despotism as well as against American imperialism. We regard ourselves as citizens of the world, and think it a healthy thing for men in one country to resent the sufferings of their fellowmen in another. And the example of Ireland is evidence that a world public opinion can be made effective.

To protest, however, is one thing; to demand—or even tolerate—armed intervention in support of a protest is another and a more dangerous thing. The United States has been and is perilously close to war in Mexico; it has, in its anti-Mexican campaign, landed its military forces in Nicaragua. Against the use of brute force by the United States to impose its will upon a lesser nation, it seems to us, even good Catholics should protest. A more patently un-Christian course could not be imagined.

Yet in the shout of protest against the Coolidge-Kellogg policy of war we have failed to detect more than a very few Catholic voices. We understand that Senator Walsh of Montana is personally opposed to the war policy; he has not said a public word. Of Governor Smith's attitude in this crisis which involves his church and his country, we have had no hint—despite Norman Thomas's effort to force him into the open. In Boston, while the usually regular Republican *Herald* has bravely questioned the Coolidge policy, the Democratic *Post*, commonly regarded as a mouthpiece of the hierarchy, has shrieked its support of military intervention.

The equivocal position of the Knights of Columbus is well known. On July 26, last, its New York chapter demanded that our Government "take action . . . to terminate the present intolerable situation in Mexico." On August 5, its Supreme Council announced that "the period of watchful waiting or any other such procedure is over" and demanded "action." It authorized assessment of its members to raise a million-dollar fund to fight the Mexican Government's position. Despite widespread criticism of this as a policy of war it was not until seventeen days later that the Supreme Knight questioned the interpretation, and then he merely stated that the manifesto "did not specify the manner or form which governmental action should take." A recent circular issued by Columbus Council of the K. of C. carried this ambiguous plea:

> We must succeed and will—if—everyone carries his share of the burden. Your contribution to the K. of C. Mexican fund, no matter what it is, will be welcomed—doubly welcome if sent immediately . . . Remember: The Red must die or dye us red.

It is charged that this K. of C. fund has been used to finance such armed revolts in Mexico as that led by the Archbishop of Guadalajara. Has it?

Meanwhile, Judge Talley, Representative Boylan, and other prominent Catholics have been violently bellicose. Their readiness to plunge the country into war, largely in behalf of their church, is the more alarming because of the possibility that a Catholic will be in 1928 one of the leading contenders for the Presidency. *The Nation* has always insisted that membership in the Catholic church should never be considered a bar to holding public office in this country; it would like to see more evidence to support its belief that Catholic Americans put their country first. It is heartening to find in the *Commonweal*, a Catholic publication, for January 19, these words:

> Should we intervene in Mexico? In Nicaragua? By no means. . . . We have something at stake in these countries; and as soon as you begin to protect that something by force of arms, you are sure to sponsor imperialistic methods and purposes. The simplest definition of imperialism is government of weakness by might. To what such a policy will ultimately lead is indicated to some extent in the mirror of Latin American public opinion, but is demonstrated fulsomely in the present Chinese debacle.

That is good; but it is not enough. Where do the Catholics of the United States stand?

# Revolution and Art

THE artists' replies to the *New Masses* questionnaire are not of a sort to bring great comfort to those who would make art the handmaiden of revolution. Fourteen writers replied to a series of carefully formulated queries, and though all, with one exception, belong more or less vaguely to the left wing rather than to the right, not even Upton Sinclair answered with a direct affirmative to the crucial question "May society properly demand of the artist . . . the transvaluation of values?" Three of the ten who answered another specific question called American culture "decadent"; several confessed a marked bias in favor of the revolutionary labor movement; and several expressed an interest in "the machine age"; but one and all revealed the immemorial tendency of the artist to shy at the "demands of society." "This is too esoteric for me," comments Stuart Chase; "I do not think it will do society any good to demand," replies Joseph Krutch; "It would have its nerve," says Heywood Broun; "Hell!" exclaims Genevieve Taggard; and most of the rest—Robinson Jeffers, Babette Deutsch, Van Wyck Brooks, and Waldo Frank—reply in similar fashion. At any particular period they might, so their answers imply, find themselves in sympathy with the "ins" or with the "outs," but they ask to be excused from specific sociological accountability and they pray to be saved from their reformer-friends.

Yet none of these writers can be impatiently swept

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aside as an aesthete or a dilettante. Not one confesses to any longing for the ivory tower; not one is concerned with an "escape"; and not one asks to be allowed to remain dreamy over the past. Nothing in their attitude is mincing or precious. Without exception they think of art as a function of life, as of something which draws its materials from contemporary existence and in turn modifies the form which that existence takes; without exception their ideal implies revolution and change. Yet they will not and cannot define their conception of their function in any terms satisfactory to those whose concern with social reform is more immediate and direct. As one reads their responses one is led to suspect that triumphant revolution will be as distrustful of the artists produced under it as other societies have generally been of their own stepchildren and one is reminded of the fact that though the radical is fond of charging that the artist of the past has persistently truckled to capitalism and reaction, at least the capitalist and the reactionary have not usually thought so.

At bottom, perhaps, the cause of the quarrel lies in the fact that the artist has always demanded more freedom and more thoroughness than the reformer thinks either necessary or advisable. The fear of practical consequences is not so immediately before his eyes and he is not so impatient. He loves to reopen questions which the reformer thinks closed and to dwell upon the little ironies which the reformer would rather keep hidden. Interested in perfection rather than workable compromise, sacrificing even loyalty to insight, he is distrustful of all orthodoxies and he loves to express the protest or the aspiration which can hardly be got into the form of an argument. In his heart he never believes that any philosophy contains the whole truth, and his dearest concern is always with the things which official propositions leave out. Always feeling himself justified, he would, nevertheless, rather thumb his nose at Serious People and call his trade useless than be called upon to justify himself before any court, and he always pleads for a change of venue. At his feeblest he is a useful safety-valve affording a harmless outlet for unregenerate impulses which, if totally suppressed, might blow us all up; at his best he perceives truths still too nebulous to be defined or defended.

Back in the Middle Ages, when all the world was as orthodox as any reformer can ever hope to make it again, the artist used his freedom to keep alive, for example, that faith in the worth of the world and the flesh which both scholarship and authority would have utterly crushed, and he was able to do it because even when he gave his allegiance to the church he somehow managed not to comply with the spirit of its demands. And the chances are that when that day, near or distant, shall come when the revolution is complete and all that the reformer now hopes for has been obtained, the artist will still be found occupying himself with things which are as undreamed of in the Revolutionist Handbook as romantic love was in the Summa Theologia.

Reform rough-hews society, and art is always more or less contemptuous of its summary though useful labors. "You do your work," it says, "let me do mine. On the whole I prefer an avowed enemy to the friend who would demand of me what I have not to give. Despise me if you must; but remember that I can bear no fruits at all except those after my own kind."

# The Ship Subsidy Again

AS was to have been expected, the Shipping Board has come out in favor of ship subsidies; in fact, of government aid of every description, in order that we may have a merchant-marine reserve in case of war and "a merchant marine adequate for the needs of the greater part of our foreign commerce." It states that at its hearings, held in various cities, there was a virtually unanimous sentiment in favor of this program. That is not surprising; at hearings such as the Shipping Board held few but interested people appear. The fact that most of the arguments the board heard were in favor of the government support of a merchant marine does not, of course, by itself mean that the policy is wise, or economically sound, or that it will be accepted by Congress. Indeed, there is no evidence at all that Congress, which refused to act in response to a special subsidy message sent to it by President Harding in 1922, will reverse that refusal in 1927.

Now *The Nation* would like to see a merchant marine under the American flag as much as anybody living. It has always held, however, that the only sound way to get such a fleet is by private initiative and private enterprise in response to a genuine business opportunity. No artificially stimulated fleet will be worth having. The only way we know in which this Government can legitimately aid in the development of a merchant marine is by taking all possible handicaps off American ships, bringing the navigation and port laws up to date, protecting the sailor-man, and by granting liberal payments for carrying the mails. The payments now made are inadequate and can perfectly properly be increased in such a way as to stimulate the building of faster and up-to-date ships. A subsidy paid on tonnage, or miles covered, would inevitably corrode the very industry it is meant to help. We have found striking confirmation of this in an article by Mr. John C. Seager, a veteran shipping man with experience all over the world. In the *Nautical Gazette* he quotes one of the most successful British shipping men, Frederick R. Leyland, founder of the Leyland Line, as saying: "I would not accept a government subsidy if offered to me." When asked why, his reply was: "The profit would go up the chimney and in brass buttons and extravagance, for the government gives you a subsidy on one hand and obliges you to do many things that take the profit away." Where the government does not take the profit, extravagance and inefficiency are bound to enter.

At bottom the fundamental principle remains vicious; no such industry ought to be built up if there is no economic reason for it, if it cannot maintain itself on its own feet—in this case on its own bottoms. The Shipping Board and those who believe with it seem to think that if we do not pour money into subsidies and have our own merchant marine our crops will not be moved. As a matter of fact our export trade grew steadily during the long years when we had no fleet and was never hampered or injured by the lack of American-flag vessels. Again, the argument for a reserve in time of war ought to be negligible if President Coolidge persists in his avowed intention to bring about a further reduction of the fleets. The effort should be not to build up a fleet reserve but to muster out the fleet that we have and what remains of the fighting navies of the world. Let us have a fleet under the American flag, but let it come normally and naturally because of a genuine need.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the New York *World*

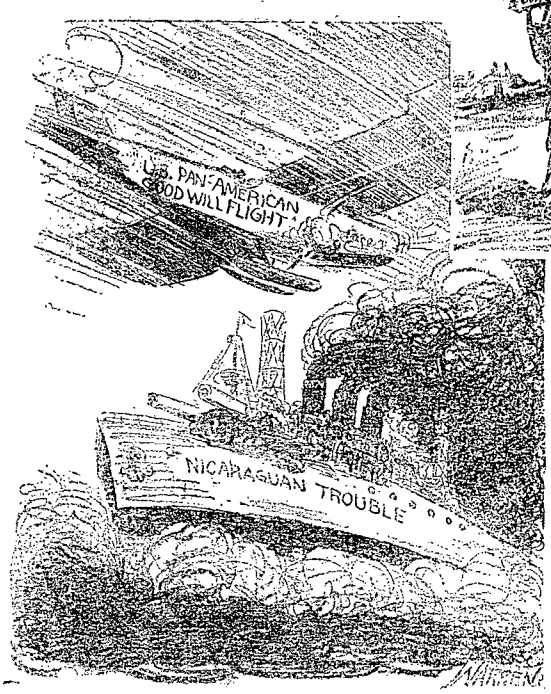
Mobilized

From the New York *Evening Post*

Hardly Enough Light

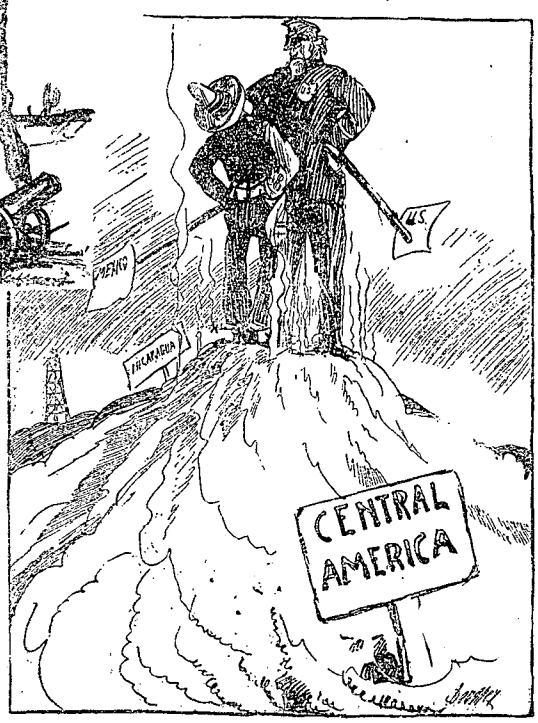
From the Baltimore *Sun*

A Word to the All Highest




From the Cleveland *News*

Cross Purposes




From the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

Who's the Policeman on This Beat?

## No War with Mexico!—*Cartoons from the American Press*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# My First Press Conference as Secretary of State

By WILLIAM HARD

*Washington, January 17*

"OF course, now I'm Secretary, you boys will want to know my policies. Well, first place, I'm in favor of spreading American institutions. Unless a country has elections like ours, I won't recognize it. So I've surprised Bill Borah by adopting his suggestion of having me and the Marine Corps supervise this next election that's to take place in Nicaragua.

"I'm doing it right. I'm sending Bill Vare of Pennsylvania down to raise the campaign fund for Sacasa and I'm sending Frank Smith of Illinois down to raise the campaign fund for Diaz. Then I'm sending Jim Reed of Missouri down three boats later to find out what they did. This Administration's idea of a fine career for him, Reed, I may tell you in confidence, is to have him spend all his time investigating American elections in foreign countries. Next, I'm sending the whole town of Herrin, Illinois, down to Nicaragua, so that if there's any violence in the election, it will be real violence. But I haven't told you my masterpiece. I'm sending the Chicago election officials and their friends down there to count the ballots. This is where I get even with Bill Borah. If any of Bill's Sacasa voters get by the bandits that my Chicago vote-counters will take down there with them, well, the vote-counters will do the rest. But you see my point. We've got to teach American institutions to these foreign birds—and especially to the Latin ones. If any institution looks good to us, it's got to look good to them. That's my first principle. Unless a guy gets into office in any foreign country through an election, American-style, I'll have nothing to do with him.

"I'm going to try this on with some big Latin country, like Italy, as soon as Congress passes the necessary appropriations for the Marine Corps. I've got the nerve if they've got the money.

"Well, next—next, I'm in favor of recognizing our responsibilities abroad. That's the solemnest word in diplomacy. Responsibilities. I hope you gentlemen realize what an international responsibility is. It's like this: I go and interfere in some foreign country and commit my country to interfering there, and then my country must keep on interfering because I started interfering. That's a responsibility. And I may confide to you that I'm going to be the greatest Secretary of State that ever lived, because I'm going to give the United States more responsibilities than any of my predecessors ever did. Let me illustrate my point. After I've counted Diaz into office in Nicaragua, if Sacasa goes and counts the rifles in Nicaragua and counts himself in that way, it will be my responsibility to send the Fifth Infantry and throw him out. But then if Diaz unconstitutionally dissolves the Nicaraguan Congress it will be my responsibility to send the Ninth Cavalry to restore them to their seats. Grasp the principle—if once we are in and do something, it would be an irreparable blow to our prestige and importance and self-respect and face if we got out and let it be undone.

"Now you have the first two steps in my policy. First, interference. Then, responsibility. The third step is the protection of the interests which we have acquired through our interference and our responsibility. Let me illustrate again. We had to get the Panama Canal in order to protect the Pacific slope. Now, I'm patrolling the canal route in Nicaragua in order to protect the Panama Canal. Very well—that's as far as my predecessors went. I'm following in their footprints and going ahead of them. You mustn't quote me on this, but I'm going to take the canal route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico in order to protect the canal route in Nicaragua. What do you think the writers of history will say to that? That will place me somewhere, won't it? And I've got other ideas on that line, too. We have to have Hawaii to protect San Francisco. We have to have Guam to protect Hawaii. We have to have the Philippines to protect Guam. But what have we got to have to protect the Philippines? I'm thinking of Tibet. Keep that dark. Don't print it. I never tell the Senate or the American people anything, but I want you newspaper fellows to plug for me if you will. And I think you will if I tell you enough things you can't print and you want to learn some more. So I'm telling you now. I'm looking for something we can get to protect the Philippines.

"I ask you to be sure to memorize a fundamental principle of diplomacy. The more interests we get to protect, and the farther away from home they are, and the more difficult to defend they are, the safer we shall be. Get that? Master it, and you will be good correspondents on foreign affairs.

"Well, how far have we gone? Oh, yes. First, interference. Then, responsibility. Then, protection of interests.

"All that remains is bogies. Every good Secretary of State must have bogies. Otherwise how can he scare the American people into doing what he wants? My predecessors merely scared the American people with Bolsheviks. Watch me, boys. I want to tell you everybody is plotting. The Pan-Slavs are plotting. The Pan-Moslems are plotting. The Pan-Asiatics are plotting. The Kluxers are plotting. The Pan-Latin-Hispanic-Rio-Grande-to-Tierra-del-Fuego Confederation is plotting. What will be my answer? I will occupy Honduras. Some bang, what? That's me. That's what I'm going to do to carry on the recent traditions of American diplomatic policy. Interference, responsibility, protection of interests, bogies. Let me plead with you. Do grasp that quartet of principles. They are the four legs of the great chair in which I sit.

"Oh, I forgot. I'm in favor of joining the Permanent Court of International Justice if the League will let us. I'm in favor of peace. I'm sorry I forgot to mention it. I mention it now. Please put it in the leads of your stories. The principal thing I have in mind as Secretary of State is to forward international peace. The undeviating record of the United States is to be in favor of peace. Make that plain. Peace is my main object.

"Well, I guess that's all. Any questions? No? Well, I don't blame you. I think I made it all perfectly clear. Good afternoon, gentlemen. Thank you."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Mexico's Bloodless Victory

(*Special Cable Dispatch to* The Nation)

By CARLETON BEALS

*Mexico City, January 15*

WITH the United States Government's attack on Nicaraguan sovereignty; its overthrow of constitutionalism in that country; its violation of the Washington treaties of 1923; its support of Diaz, the puppet of dollar diplomacy since 1919; its attack on Sacasa, the liberal legal successor to Nicaragua's presidency; with its Panama treaty, creating a new protectorate, in Central America; and with its smoke-screen of charges of Bolshevism and threats of force against Mexico, scurrilous attacks against a friendly government endangering the peace of two continents, the moral leadership of the Western Hemisphere definitely passes from the United States to Mexico.

Calles emerges as a continental figure with a moral courage unparalleled since the death of Sun Yat-sen—Calles, the one government executive in all the world supporting international justice. Sacasa is momentarily annihilated as the result of Mexican recognition; but Mexico emerges the leader of Latin America, pictured in the press as a David fighting the Goliath of the North. Coolidge has set two continents aflame, aroused eighty million people to resistance, solidified Latin-American culture, and revived the old fear and hate of the Yankee.

The National Congress of Students, meeting at Oaxaca, has cabled to all the students of Latin America its support of Calles against the United States. The Honduras students in Mexico have cabled their home government, opposing the action of the United States. The Guatemalan students have held enthusiastic demonstrations in front of the Mexican Embassy, and sent cables to students and governments of other countries. Students are protesting in Cuba and Peru, in all Latin America. Coolidge is sowing the dragon's teeth of future antagonism, creating hundreds of Ugartes, Fombonas, and Fabelas pledged to dedicate their lives to the fight against American aggression. The editors of Salvador have unitedly protested against the American overthrow of constitutionalism in Nicaragua and have sent a memorial to the Pan-American Union. Chile is on the eve of a revolt in favor of conciliation with Peru, settling the Tacna-Arica controversy and solidifying Latin-American resistance. Messages pour in from all Latin America pledging support to Calles. The Latin-American Union is actively cabling the facts to the European newspapers, governments, and liberal and labor organizations. Argentina has already instituted a boycott against United States goods, and American imports have dropped.

The Latin-American Union of Mexico is attempting to inaugurate a continent-wide boycott, advocating the application to the Americas of Gandhi's Indian tactics. It has issued a manifesto reciting the aggressions of the United States, both economic and political, since 1847, adding: "But Latin America is at last reacting against this encroachment: Argentina is establishing a boycott; Nicaragua stands arms in hand; Mexico is nationalizing its wealth despite the protests of the usurper." The union presents a far-reaching program for the liberation of Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua; for equalization treaties; for the abolition of the Platt Amendment in Cuba, of the 1916 Bryan-Chamorro treaty in Nicaragua, and of the present Panama treaty; for the end of all special privileges granted to the United States; for the promotion of native industries and the development of inter-Latin-American commerce.

The official Mexican reaction is this: Mexico has enemies within and without, but, despite the economic, political, church, and international crises, the present regime has never been more strongly solidified. There have been no examples of army treachery, as in the days of Carranza and Obregon. The story of plots by Arnulfo Gomez, commander of Vera Cruz, apparently are utterly unfounded. The Government will weather all difficulties unless it is undermined by the machinations and propaganda of the State Department of the United States. Present State Department tactics are more disintegrating than overt acts, but Calles is unflinchingly proceeding with his program, publicly unrepentant regarding his Nicaraguan attitude, which he declares is founded on the rights of nations, and unshaken by Kellogg's bullying.

The United States Government looks toward Mexico while it kicks Nicaragua; Mexico looks toward the United States while it kicks the Catholic church. But the latter has been definitely proved an internal plotter; during the last two months the Mexican Government has broken up ten rebel groups with such slogans as these: "The Rights of Religion" and "Viva Christ, the King!" The first rebellion in mountainous Guanajuato, led by two priests, Ignacio and Pedro Gonzales, was driven toward Jalisco and dispersed. The most recent rebellion in the Federal District, including Catholics of the aristocratic families of the capital, headed by the former Zapatista officers, Reyes and Castro, has been broken up; documents have been seized implicating Rene Capistran Garza, head of the Mexican League for the Defense of Religion, who is now in the United States. Capistran Garza has announced himself as provisional president, promising arms and funds from the United States. The Government charges that other documents implicated the Episcopate, which explains the arrest of Bishop Diaz, secretary of the Episcopate, and his deportation to Guatemala. The Government accuses the church of traitorously seeking outside aid at a moment of international crisis, as it has repeatedly done in Mexican history—witness the imposition of the Hapsburg Maximilian. Yet the Catholic church is helpless from a military point of view unless the army should turn traitor or elements in the United States give substantial aid.

The Calles program has four facets: first, Latin-American solidarity; second, economic independence; third, financial retrenchment; fourth, legal enforcement of the 1917 constitution. Since the time of Carranza and the Plan de Monzon, all Mexican governments have been consistently, legitimately, and far-sightedly promoting a program of cultural and economic union in Latin America. The Mexican revolution aims at economic independence; it represents a reaction against the pro-foreign policy of Porfirio Diaz.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As Calles said at last year's convention of the Regional Confederation of Mexican Labor: "Mexico cannot hope to achieve political without economic independence." He declared that the Government aimed to build up native industry and to safeguard the country against wild-cat exploitation of its natural resources, this being the reason for the land and petroleum laws. Calles's financial record includes elimination of graft, rigid economy, and a regularity of payment on its foreign debt which might be envied by European Powers. But Mexico gets no credit for this. Calles has been systematically enforcing the 1917 constitution, his last two years representing the most brilliant period of codification since the fifties of the last century.

Regarding his difficulties with the United States Calles declares that although the Hague Court is dominated by imperialist Powers Mexico is willing, as the lesser of two evils, to submit even her internal legislation to international arbitration. This is a sharp contrast to Kellogg's continued bitter propaganda tending, as it does, toward armed conflict. Foreign Minister Saenz reiterates Mexico's intention to safeguard foreign rights legitimately acquired and to fulfil her international obligations. The Claims Commission is evidence of Mexico's willingness to create conciliatory machinery for the settlement of legitimate claims against her. "Mexico's aims and aspirations are simply to dwell peacefully with all peoples, solving her own problems by her own efforts. Mexico does not close her doors to any understanding or settlement based on justice." Regarding bolshevism, Mr. Saenz repeats Calles's reply to Chicherin's declaration that Mexico might be used as a Communist base: "Mexico extended the hand of friendship to Soviet Russia, but she expects absolute respect for her independence and sovereignty. Mexico's program of political and social reform sprang out of Mexico's needs, and is developing in conformity with Mexico's needs, unshaped by exotic factors."

The labor situation is this: The railroad workers, who have been threatening a general strike for nearly a year, have repeatedly been staved off by domestic and international crises, but their plans are again maturing. The indications are that Calles will insist on arbitration. The Regional Confederation of Mexican Labor, the largest organization in the country, has reaffirmed its unqualified support of Calles. General Secretary Trevino declares that the organization always combats Communist tendencies. The Mexican masses and the Mexican Government are not influenced by Bolshevist theories or activities. The Mexican revolution crystallized its constitution in February, 1917, while the Bolshevist revolution did not occur until November of that year. The little Communist propaganda which has been carried on in Mexico has been directed against the Government by American citizens who have since been deported. Russian Communists in the United States have been actively opposed to the Labor governments of Obregon and Calles.

Trevino spoke the truth: but 300,000 peasants, composing the National Peasants League, who are not connected with the Government and who may ultimately determine the fate of Mexico, are far more radical. No Mexican Government on the Kellogg pattern could possibly sustain itself, unless with the aid of United States bayonets. If Calles should be overthrown by a break in diplomatic relations, by lifting the embargo on shipments of arms, or merely by continued hostility, he might be followed, after a period of new violence, by the most radical government in Mexican history. A church government or a landlord government could not exist three months. If Calles falls, the State Department will face a semi-Bolshevist and bitterly anti-American government. Will Kellogg's work in inciting revolution in Mexico benefit American property and commerce, and promote peace and security—or merely aid a few oil properties with doubtful titles?

# The Eagle and the Red Bird: A Fable

By ARTHUR WARNER

AN Eagle was winging his way above Washington One Day in December (the 27th to be exact) when he heard a Great Commotion in a Building at Seventeenth and G Streets. He swooped down and, perching on the sill of an open window, saw a great multitude of men called Newspaper Boys bustling into a room where stood Somebody whom the Newspaper Boys called Mr. Secretary to his face but among themselves Nervous Nellie. The Newspaper Boys were Hot on the Trail because only three days before United States marines had been landed at Puerto Cabezas, on the east coast of Nicaragua. The Newspaper Boys wanted to know Why.

"It is solely to protect the lives and property of our citizens," declared Mr. Secretary solemnly. "Admiral Latimer has been instructed to preserve the Strictest Neutrality as between the Diaz and Sacasa forces. If the Diaz forces enter the Neutral Zone they will be disarmed as quickly as the troops of Sacasa."

"But," said one of the Newspaper Boys who was Wise, "Puerto Cabezas is the military headquarters of Sacasa. His troops have just licked the Tar out of the army of Diaz so that it is Running Yet. There's a Fat Chance that the forces of Diaz will Come Monkeying around there again. Mr. Secretary, what do you mean, Neutrality?"

"I can't answer that question," said Mr. Secretary.

"Mr. Secretary," said another Wise Guy, "will you give us the names of the lives and property that our marines are protecting?"

"I never was good at remembering names," replied Nervous Nellie, "though I never forget a Face. As to that I would say we were protecting Our Own."

Thereupon the interview ended and the Eagle flew away to Potomac Park for a Much Needed Rest. But he was back again three days later. Unfortunately he was a Bit Late. The interview was over and the Newspaper Boys had left the room. There was a Parrot there, though, and of him the Eagle inquired What Had Been Said.

"Same old Bologna," squawked the Parrot; "we're still neutral."

This time the Eagle took a Longer Rest, but on January 4 he heard a Great Silence over a building called the White House. He flew down to learn what it was All About and saw a man that looked like Cautious Cal but was called the Official Spokesman. This man had found a New One.

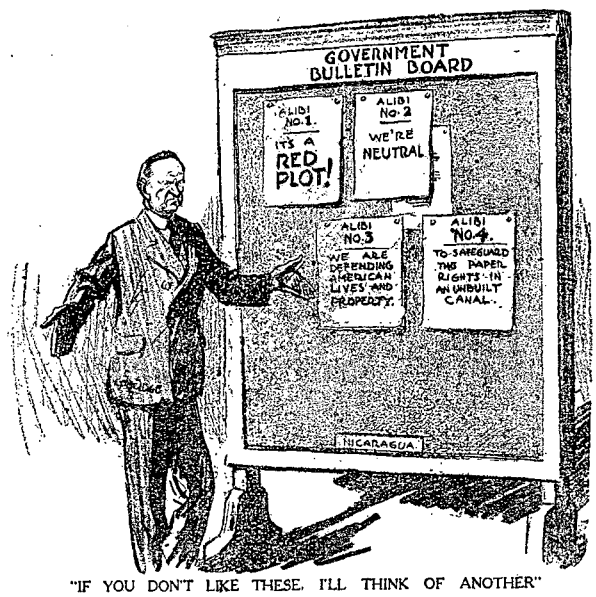
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He told the Newspaper Boys that Uncle Sam was in Nicaragua to protect his Rights in a Canal which he hadn't yet started but might want to build Some Day.

So the Eagle flew away to Rock Creek Park and cogitated on This Bluff. He concluded that in building trenches the army of Sacasa might shovel some Loose Dirt off the line of the Canal and thus prevent a future Deserving Republican contractor from charging it up as excavation through Solid Rock.

On January 6 there was a Terrible Commotion at Seventeenth and G Streets and the Eagle hopped on the window-sill As Before. He learned that American troops had been sent to Managua, the headquarters of Diaz, but the troops of the latter had not been compelled to disarm nor had the city been declared a Neutral Zone. In fact our embargo against the shipment of arms into Nicaragua had been lifted in so far as Diaz Was Concerned. It was explained officially that Our Troops were in Managua at the request of British and Italian officials, but the Eagle heard On the Side that they were there to keep the Naughty Boys of Sacasa from Crashing the Gate and Knocking the Block off Diaz, the Angel Child of Nervous Nellie and Cautious Cal. The Eagle also heard that Two Senators, a Mr. Robinson and a Mr. Swanson, had been assured by Cautious Cal that we were in Nicaragua to uphold our Prestige in Latin America against that of Mexico. This was Something that the Eagle, who was No Fool, had Already Suspected.

*From the New York World*


GOVERNMENT BULLETIN BOARD
ALIBI NO. 1. IT'S A RED PLOT!
ALIBI No. 2 WE'RE NEUTRAL
ALIBI NO. 3 WE ARE DEFENDING AMERICAN LIVES AND PROPERTY.
ALIBI NO. 4. TO SAFEGUARD THE PAPER RIGHTS IN AN UNBUILT CANAL.
NICARAGUA

"IF YOU DON'T LIKE THESE, I'LL THINK OF ANOTHER"

The Eagle flew away thinking it was Pretty Soft for Diaz, but the next day the Newspaper Boys got Another Earful. This time it was Officially Stated that we were in Nicaragua because of the Evarts Doctrine, a poor relation of the Monroe Doctrine but capable of raising Some Hell on its own account. The Evarts Doctrine was promulgated by William M. Evarts, Secretary of State, in a letter to our Minister to Mexico in 1878. In true He-Man Style Mr. Evarts wrote that the United States was out to protect the lives and property of its citizens and was "not solicitous about the methods to accomplish this protection of its imperiled nationals." The Eagle also overheard Nervous Nellie declare that for Mexico to allow arms to be shipped to Sacasa after we had hailed Diaz as our Angel Child was an Unfriendly Act.

The Eagle spent three days trying to digest this Mess, but on January 10 he spied some Typewritten Sheets that an Unappreciative Page had dropped out of one of the Capitol windows. The Stuff proved to be a Message to Congress from Cautious Cal giving five reasons why we were in Nicaragua, all bad and all old except One. That is to say, one wasn't old. It was that we were in Nicaragua to prevent an Inflation of the Currency.

"Well, well!" said the Eagle when he read that. "Can you beat it?" Evidently you could, for two days later Nervous Nellie let the Cat out of the Bag or rather the Bird out of the Cage. The Bird, he said, was Red; its habitat was Mexico. It lived on Food imported from Moscow and unless it was promptly chloroformed there would be the Devil to Pay all over Latin America, not to speak of the Nordic U. S. A.

The Eagle thought this was Slush. He had met this Bird occasionally when flying along the Rio Grande and had found him to be a Reg'lar Feller who minded His Business as long as you Minded Yours. So the Eagle went next day for a Personal Chat with the Secretary of State. Hopping on the Window-sill he sang "Nellie Was a Lady" until the Secretary looked up. Then the Eagle cleared his throat and began.

"Mr. Secretary," he said, remembering the formula of the Newspaper Boys, "in the last two weeks I've heard a Dozen Reasons why we are in Nicaragua. Snatch me Baldheaded if I know which to believe. None of them Sounds Good."

"Dear me! Dear me!" mourned Nervous Nellie. "I thought that with So Many Shots I'd be sure to hit the Bull's-Eye with one. But I've got four clerks in the next room working on New Ones. Come in tomorrow morning and I think I can Fit You out."

"I don't want more reasons but better ones," replied the Eagle. "I'm getting especially sick of the Stuff about that Red Bird. In the first place he's a friend of mine, and in the second he is only a nice quiet sort of red."

"But," said Nervous Nellie, "he will destroy your Nests and nationalize your Eggs."

"Twaddle!" responded the Eagle, forgetting the formula of the Newspaper Boys. "I'm not afraid of your Red Bird. In fact he reminds me of myself when I was Young and Idealistic and not so Fat and Bald-headed an Eagle as I am today. I can't see anything in trying to chloroform the Bird—neither Kudos nor Kale."

"The Kudos," replied Nervous Nellie, less nervously, "will go to me and Cautious Cal—who may need it in 1928. The Kale will go to Wall Street."

"But where do I come in?" asked the Eagle, stroking his Polished Dome with his Fore Talon.

"You," answered the Secretary not unkindly, "you will Get Yours all right, all right, first in the Trenches and later in the Taxes."

*Moral—What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander, but there is Some Bilgewater in Washington too thick for Any Bird to Swallow.*


## What Made These Women "Modern"?

*The seventh article in the series of personal revelations by well-known women will appear next week. If you have missed the first six, mail this announcement and seventy cents. John B. Watson, behaviorist, and Beatrice M. Hinkle, psychoanalyst, will point out in* The Nation *the significance of the anonymous articles.*


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# What the World Thinks of America

## England

LONDON *Daily News* (January 11). "So barren of argument is the American war policy in defending the indefensible Nicaraguan adventure that Senator Willis has asserted that if the United States had kept out, England, to protect Englishmen in Nicaragua, would have sent the British navy to take charge . . . a glaring example of the hypocrisy of American moral philosophy."

London *Outlook* (January 1). ". . . most Latin-American states are watching Washington with considerable apprehension. In place of the Pan-American spirit which Mr. Hughes fostered with considerable success when he was Secretary of State, there is now definite hostility, mingled with fear as to what may come next. There is a feeling abroad that under Mr. Kellogg official Washington has undertaken a definitely aggressive policy toward Latin America. . . . there is a strong war party in the United States, and the antagonism between Mexico and the States has been of such long standing that the situation has become dangerous in the extreme. If some moral pretext can be found it will not be difficult to set America aflame with the war spirit."

London *Spectator* (January 8). "The whole of Central and South America will be further excited against the Monroe Doctrine. The shield will be regarded as a dagger."

London *New Statesman* (January 1). "The economic interests of the United States in Nicaragua are very large, and it is undoubtedly the representatives of those interests who are most actively spreading from Washington the grotesque story about Mexico's design for a Bolshevist hegemony in Central America."

London *Nation and Athenaeum* (January 1). "The [Nicaraguan] affair has created a sensation throughout Latin America, and President Coolidge is called upon to defend his policy. . . . Such action is inevitable in the present circumstances [he explains], but the United States 'never takes sides.' This statement has a singular sound in the face of the fact that the State Department has recognized Señor Diaz, while Dr. Sacasa has been accorded recognition by Mexico."

London *Sunday Worker* (January 2). "The setback to the 'conservative' forces in Nicaragua, followed by the skilful move of the United States in declaring the main zones occupied or threatened by the 'liberals' neutral, has made it more difficult than ever for President Coolidge to disguise the fact that the struggle between President Diaz and Dr. Sacasa—between the 'conservatives' and the 'liberals'—is the struggle—perhaps the final one—of Nicaragua itself to resist complete absorption into the imperialist system of the United States.

"For the government of the U. S. A. it is a stage toward the complete conquest of power in Central America and the Caribbean Sea."

*Manchester Guardian* (January 11). "Before the crisis Mr. Coolidge plainly was on the side of the peacemakers, but since the intervention of Rear Admiral Latimer it would seem that his assent has been obtained both to the definite taking of sides in Nicaragua and to the adoption by the State Department of a minatory tone toward Mexico."

## France

*Echo de Paris* (Pertinax, semi-official political writer). "The absorption of Panama proves, no matter what one says, that American imperialism exists. It differs from European efforts at hegemony only by the weakness of the obstacles it meets. . . . After the conquest of the Spanish colonies in 1898 there came the subjugation of Panama in 1904, the Dominican Republic in 1907, Haiti in 1915, Nicaragua in 1916, and Honduras in 1924."

*La Liberté* (Conservative). "The star-spangled banner is fast becoming the symbol of a nation of prey for the descendants of Bolivar. America is assuming a position similar to that of Germany before the war."

*L'Humanité* (Communist). "The American imperialism of 1927 is more dangerous than Germany's was in 1914."

*Le Temps* (Semi-official). "The Monroe Doctrine, transformed from an American principle of defense against the Europe of the Holy Alliance, has now became the postulate of the United States protectorate over the South American republics. . . . Alternately, under various forms and combinations of seductive dollar diplomacy and the coercive policy of the 'big stick,' the doctrine openly serves the objects of those two so closely allied forces, the State Department in Washington and the bankers in New York."

*Le Temps* (January 10). "It is difficult to admit that the principles and methods which characterize America's attitude in Nicaragua and Mexico do not reveal an imperialistic policy. One understands perfectly why the republics of Latin America look toward the future with serious apprehension."

## Germany

Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* (Nationalist). "The policy of North America now shows itself in its true colors as a policy of might against the independence of small countries, which are weak both in respect to their economic position and military establishment."

Berlin *Vorwärts* (Socialist) of January 12. "With unparalleled cynicism the Coolidge Government continues its intervention in the activities of Nicaragua for the benefit of the defeated usurper Diaz, despite protests from Americans as well as warnings from Latin America. The United States believes it cannot permit any neighboring states to use violence, since the past showed all such undertakings successful. In reality the history of the expansion of North American influence in Central America is merely a long chain of brutal oppression."

## Italy

*Giornale d'Italia* (Rome) of January 11. "The United States today is one of the leading imperial Powers of the world, cultivating an unswerving imperial policy supported by dollars and commerce, but when necessary by cannon and armed intervention."

*Lavoro d'Italia* (Rome) of December 29. "These tendencies in American policy have no need for comment; they all converge in one point, the assertion of American domination everywhere and by every method . . . traditions, ideals, rights, justice, all are set aside when the interests of the state demand it. Like all the imperialisms of his-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tory, even American imperialism in its relations with other states recognizes but one law—that of force."

SPAIN

*El Debate* (Madrid) of December 30. "The economic advance of the United States disturbs this paper, which sees new evidence in the treatment of Nicaragua of a chain forged by the Northern republic to bind South American countries, which can only end in the complete subjugation of free nations."

*El Sol* (Madrid) of January 13. "It is the Spanish Government's duty to give an expression of sympathy with South America without violating the international protocol. Certainly Spain can do more by creating genuine Hispano-American ties than all the Columbus Day celebrations in many centuries."

CUBA

*Diario de Cuba* (Havana) of December 31 scores both the "policy of imperialism of the United States in Latin America" and the "cowardice" of the Latin-American republics in failing to rally to the defense of a small sister nation.

ARGENTINA

*La Nacion* (Buenos Aires) of January 12. "No acts against Americans justified military intervention without first exhausting all diplomatic measures and resources, which the United States would have applied in the case of any other nation not so weak as Nicaragua. . . . A new conception of imperialism, crudely materialistic, has supplanted the sentiments of high idealism which the great leaders of the United States had established."

BRAZIL

*Jornal do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro) of January 13. Warning Brazil against increasing its national financial obligations to the United States, it describes such a step as "becoming caught in a dangerous web of gold."

PARAGUAY

*La Tribuna* (Asuncion) of January 12. "North American intervention makes it known to the world that 'might makes right' in America."

PERU

*Diario Comercio* (Lima). "It is strange that war vessels should be sent to an independent country under the pretext of defending Yankee interests."

COSTA RICA

*Diario de Costa Rica* (San Jose) of January 7. "Since the interests and lives of Americans and other foreigners were respected in Nicaragua, the attitude of the American State Department fails to explain but rather hurts the Pan-American sentiments voiced by Mr. Kellogg in his speeches. It also takes away from the prestige of the Monroe Doctrine."

[*Those excerpts not quoted directly from foreign papers are taken from dispatches of the Associated Press or the New York* Times.]

# Dollars and Bullets: A History

## *Compiled, Mainly from State Department Records*

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

1907

Central American Court of Justice created under joint auspices of United States and Mexico.

1909

*October 7.* American consul at Bluefields, Nicaragua, wires State Department that "a revolution will start in Bluefields on the 8th," that the revolutionaries "propose to protect the property of foreigners," and that General Emiliano Chamorro (who, with J. J. Estrada and Adolfo Diaz, secretary—at $1,000 per year—of an American mining company, was to lead the revolution) has just landed secretly from Costa Rica.

*October 12.* Consul wires State Department that revolution occurred on 10th; that "foreign business interests are enthusiastic," that "immediate reduction of tariff is assured; also the annulment of all concessions not owned by foreigners."

*December 1.* Secretary Knox withdraws recognition of Nicaraguan Government, stating that "the Government of the United States is convinced that the revolution represents the ideals and the will of a majority of the Nicaraguan people more faithfully than does the Government of President Zelaya."

*December 16.* Zelaya resigns, naming Madriz, also of Liberal Party, to succeed him.

1910

*May 16.* Madriz forces, having swept all Nicaragua, call upon Estrada to surrender his last stronghold at Bluefields.

*May 16.* U. S. S. Paducah declares Bluefields a neutral zone.

*May 31.* United States prohibits interference with American ships carrying arms to Estrada in Bluefields; insists that customs duties be paid to Estrada faction, not to Madriz.

*August 20.* Madriz resigns; Estrada enters capital and declares himself President; his first official act is to telegraph Secretary Knox that the victorious party "entertains warm regard for American people."

*September 12.* Estrada promises to ask for American loan.

*October 11.* Department of State offers aid in securing loan from American bankers, suggests foreign control of customs, and offers service of "confidential financial expert."

*October 18.* Thomas C. Dawson arrives as special Agent of the United States.

*October 27.* "Dawson Pact" signed on board United States battleship by Nicaraguan leaders, promising loan, American customs control, and a Claims Commission—one member to be appointed by Nicaragua, two by United States—to settle American claims against Nicaragua; and agreeing upon election of Estrada and Diaz as President and Vice-President.

*December 31.* General election; Estrada and Diaz *unanimously* elected.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1911

*March 27.* American Minister cables "President Estrada is being sustained solely by the moral effect of our support and the belief that he would unquestionably have that support in case of trouble."

*March 29.* Estrada by presidential decree ratifies Dawson plan for Claims Commission.

*April 4.* President Estrada dissolves Assembly; revolution threatens.

*Late April.* New Assembly, subordinate to Estrada, elected.

*May 6.* New Assembly authorizes President to negotiate loan with American bankers.

*May 9.* Estrada resigns in favor of Diaz.

*May 14.* Department of State approves recognition of Diaz; revolution still threatens.

*June 5.* American Minister reports informing Diaz that "I had communicated to my Government his pledge not to resign and that I was instructed to say that my Government considered the pledge as given to it through me and appreciated it very much."

*June 6.* Knox-Castrillo treaty signed, United States offering to aid Nicaragua to get $15,000,000 loan from American bankers, customs to be put under American control as security. (This treaty was never ratified, either by the American Senate or the Nicaraguan Assembly.)

*July 30.* American Minister reports that Diaz is a mere figurehead, but has "repeated his promise not to resign until the loan matter had been settled."

*September 1.* Brown Brothers and Company, and J. and W. Seligman and Company, New York bankers, sign contract for $15,000,000 loan if and when treaty is ratified; meanwhile lend Diaz Government $1,500,000, also guaranteed on customs, which they are to control; bankers also take option for 51 per cent of stock of National Bank of Nicaragua, and railway rights.

*November 20.* State Department wires to hold Assembly in session until American fiscal experts arrive, as supplementary legislation may be needed.

*December 2.* Diaz orders Assembly held in session.

*December 21.* Diaz confidentially suggests treaty "permitting the United States to intervene in our internal affairs."

*December 23.* Secretary Knox expresses "intense gratification."

1912

*March 26.* Same bankers give Nicaragua further loan of $500,000 taking lien on government steamship and railway lines.

*July 29.* Anti-Diaz revolution breaks out; Diaz appoints Chamorro his general-in-chief.

*August 3.* Revolution spreading; Diaz asks "that the Government of the United States guarantee with its forces security for the property of American citizens in Nicaragua and that it extend its protection to all the inhabitants of the republic."

*August 4.* 100 men from U. S. S. Annapolis arrive in Nicaraguan capital. United States Minister orders revolutionaries to return engine and two box cars to American corporation operating railroad.

*August 11-15.* Nicaraguan capital bombarded by revolutionaries.

*August 12.* American manager of Bank of Nicaragua wires James Brown of Brown Brothers for protection. Brown consults State Department.

*August 15.* Major Smedley D. Butler with 350 United States marines arrives in capital.

*August 20* (about). American Minister declares capital a neutral zone.

*September 4.* State Department announces its policy is "to take the necessary measures for an adequate legation guard at Managua, to keep open communications, and to protect American life and property." Also states that "the American bankers who have made investments . . . have applied for protection."

*September 5.* Admiral Southerland arrives with reinforcements.

*September 15.* Expeditionary force under Butler starts north.

*October 6.* Marines complete campaign by capture of Leon, last revolutionary stronghold; 4 marines, 3,000 (estimated) Nicaraguans killed in course of campaign.

*November 2.* With American marines guarding the polls, Diaz is unanimously reelected for four-year term.

*November 4.* New $500,000 loan by bankers, secured by American collection of tobacco and liquor taxes, and option for purchase by bankers of remaining 49 per cent of railroad stock.

*November 14.* Admiral Southerland, Major Butler, and bulk of United States expeditionary force leave Nicaragua.

*December 13.* All marines except 100 men at capital and a ship at Corinto recommended withdrawn.

1913

*October 8.* Bankers buy majority stock of railroad for $1,000,000 and of bank for $153,000 and make $1,000,000 loan; of this $2,153,000 all but $772,000 is held to repay previous loans.

*November.* Chamorro is *unanimously* elected to succeed Diaz.

1916

*February 18.* Bryan-Chamorro treaty signed; United States pays $3,000,000 for right to build canal across Nicaragua, and for 99-year lease of naval bases on Nicaraguan territory. Money is used to repay American creditors of Nicaragua. (Costa Rica and Salvador protested that this treaty violated their treaty rights, and appealed to the Central American Court of Justice, which ruled that the treaty was invalid. Nicaragua, encouraged by United States, refused to accept the verdict; and in 1918, accordingly, the court dissolved.)

1924

*July 12.* Nicaragua pays off last of her debts to Brown Brothers and J. and W. Seligman and Company. Railway and National Bank are returned to Nicaragua, although Americans are retained as members of directorates.

*October.* First free elections in Nicaraguan history held under new election law. Carlos Solorzano, Liberal, defeats Emiliano Chamorro two to one for Presidency; Juan Sacasa is elected Vice-President.

1925

*August 3.* American marines are withdrawn from Nicaragua, leaving native constabulary in charge of American officer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*October 25.* Chamorro and Diaz seize power by coup d'etat.

1926

*January 16.* Chamorro, after expelling opposition members of Assembly, has Assembly elect him President. Solorzano is forced to resign, Sacasa to flee.

*January 22.* State Department refuses to recognize Chamorro because he gained office by use of force.

*Early May.* Liberal revolution to reinstate constitutional regime begins.

*October 30.* Chamorro, discouraged by State Department hostility, resigns.

*November 10.* Adolfo Diaz elected President by Chamorro's Assembly.

*November 15.* Diaz asks for American aid and support.

*November 17.* State Department recognizes Diaz.

*November 18.* New loan agreement negotiated by Diaz with New York bankers.

*December 7.* Mexico recognizes Sacasa as constitutional President of Nicaragua.

*December 24.* Admiral Latimer lands troops at Bluefields.

*December 25.* Sacasa is ordered to disarm or get out.

# In the Driftway

A GOOD friend of the Drifter's has a morbid curiosity to see himself as others see him, which invariably leads to chagrin. He should have known better than to eavesdrop on the theaters of Moscow, where in two entirely different plays he saw the same portrait of himself, in fact, of all Americans. This is what Russians think an American is like: He wears loud plaid knickerbockers and if he were a woman he would also wear a lorgnette. He talks with a drawl, and carries a light stick. He is forever snapping pictures with a pocket kodak, especially when he has the rare good fortune to see a suicide or an execution. He fox-trots incessantly, and interrupts his ungraceful seesawing only to gulp a tumbler of champagne. When in Mr. Meyerhold's famous play, "Rechi Kitai"—Roar, China!—an American answering to this description was quietly tumbled into the Yangtze, it was impossible not to experience an unforgettable thrill of satisfaction.

* * * * *

IT rather surprised the Drifter to learn what a seditious activity the fox-trot is. He has been known to try it himself, but not as ardently as the printers, movie stars, ice men, and taxi drivers of his acquaintance. Is he to understand that these persons are all deep-dyed imperialists, plotting the destruction of the proletariat? His friend declares he is reconciled to the anti-fox-trot law in Russia, since it increased his chance to see the ballet and the peasant dances. "The best thing in the Moscow version of 'Desire under the Elms' was the admirable lancers of the wedding party; though the set seemed better and the land-greedy people rather more convincing in Russia than in Mr. O'Neill's imitation New England." He continues:

> It does not take much revising to turn Russian dances into pure gymnastics. This is Meyerhold's way of avoiding the bourgeois taint, and adding another color to his orchestration, even if it has no special part in the action of the play. In "Rechi Kitai," for instance, you see a row of large drums on a dark stage, beaten by crouching drummers, and behind each one a wheel of red legs and arms. It might symbolize the execution of two boatmen in the next act, or the revolution to come when China does roar, or the Saturday night of a sampan man, or it might be simply a sinister Eastern dance, to heighten the color and the feeling; but its effect was of the most vital significance.
>
> It is fashionable for a stage setting to consist of a framework of lath and a set of screens instead of painted backdrops of trembling pillars and wrinkled trees. This removes all restraint on the dramatist's imagination as to multiplying scenes, which in the modern Russian play he does with reckless abandon. Russian art in general is not simple, probably due to the influence of the language.

* * * * *

ALL of which is interesting and greatly strengthens the Drifter's resolve to leave for the Soviet Union on the next boat. He makes this resolve every morning before breakfast. A day will surely come when he will not be forced to break it before lunch. THE DRIFTER

# Correspondence

## Brutus: Enough About His Life to Blast His Reputation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: When Cicero went out to Asia Minor as governor of Cilicia and adjacent territory he carried with him the government's mandate to reseat a certain Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, upon his wabbly throne. Now this legislation had been put through the Roman senate by Pompey and Brutus, with the help of the sanctified Cato, because they had both gambled huge sums of money on loans to the king and if anyone more acceptable to the people should get his crown they never would be paid. Cicero bolstered up the tottering dynasty and Brutus got his pound of flesh.

More serious was the case of the city of Salamis on the island of Cyprus. Cicero found an obscure Roman man of business, Scaptius by name, trying to collect from the Salaminians a large sum of money, with interest at 4 per cent per month. When the impoverished citizens could not pay, Scaptius obtained cavalry from the previous governor and besieged the city fathers in the senate house until five of them died of starvation.

Cicero, hearing of this twentieth-century strong-arm method of treating subject peoples, withdrew the cavalry entirely from Cyprus and made an astounding rule for those days—that no Roman engaged in business in the province should hold government office or use any troops for the collecting of investments. Scaptius, blocked, denied troops or office, became truculent. The governor was obdurate—12 per cent compounded annually was all that he would permit on this debt, and no military to collect. At this point Brutus disclosed his friendship for Scaptius, seeking to induce Cicero to wink at his methods. When the man of letters turned politician did not yield, Brutus became highly offended and Cicero, to his amazement, learned that Scaptius was only a man of straw and that the person whose money was at stake and who was trying to collect a debt with interest at 4 per cent per month was none other than Brutus himself, the "noblest Roman of them all."

*Hanover, N. H., December 29* ERLE WILSON MESSER

## Beware the "Larger Issue"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Now is the time to beware of a "larger issue." The aggressive attitude of the Coolidge Administration toward Nicaragua and Mexico is so plainly inspired by the financial interests operating in these countries that war would be ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ceedingly unpopular. Hence Secretary Kellogg's efforts to "sell" a capitalist war to the American people by asserting that Latin America is hanging over a Red abyss. But his assertion fell dead flat. Doubtless the American imperialists will make other attempts to distract attention from their real objects. That is their business.

The Boer War is of especial interest in this connection. It originated in a conspiracy to overthrow the Boer Republic entered into by the South African mine owners and the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain. But the war party in England cleverly shifted the issue to that of preserving the British Empire. The trick succeeded, and the Boer War received the enthusiastic support of the British people. England repudiated her liberal traditions as the friend of oppressed peoples, and there followed a debauch of imperialism which ran to such wild extremes that it disgusted even that stout old Tory, G. K. Chesterton.

Undoubtedly the Monroe Doctrine originated in a genuine desire of the United States to save the New World from autocracy. However, as a result of the investments of American capital in Latin America and of the Panama Canal the doctrine underwent a subtle change. It is no longer the means of preventing European aggression but of cloaking American aggression. In effect Latin America is now a gigantic protectorate of the United States.

Perhaps the future has in store a cosmic satire. The Monroe Doctrine may become the means used by the United States to destroy democracy in Latin America.

*New York, January 15* J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

## Arbitration in 1848

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You remind your readers that our Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo made with Mexico in 1848 contained a recommendation that in case of future disputes the country deeming itself aggrieved should consider arbitration.

Research in the manuscript papers of Nicholas Trist, recently acquired by the Library of Congress, shows that during the negotiations the Mexicans from the first insisted on arbitration. The proposal to arbitrate was not even considered by Trist, who says in his report to President Polk: "They propose *arbitration* as the just mode of settling this question. . . . I decline to enter into this question, or to consider the proposal. . . . We must proceed to business at once."

The Mexicans then proposed a clause providing for compulsory arbitration, in the future. This the prudent Trist would have none of, but he finally consented to the present mild Article 21, which merely suggests that in case of future disputes arbitration be "maturely considered," and not refused by either party unless deemed incompatible with the circumstances of the case. Such a clause, Trist assured the administration, could "do no harm." Apparently it has not!

*Northampton, Mass., January 15* M. AND M. CURTI

## The American Arbitration Crusade

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *The Nation* may be glad to place before its readers a practical substitute for war, be it never so radical. The proposal to negotiate compulsory arbitration treaties with all countries is extremely radical. Instead of pledging individuals to refuse to fight—a program deemed Bolshevistic and unpatriotic—the American Arbitration Crusade is endeavoring to pledge the entire nation to refuse to fight any country for any cause at any time. And yet this program should win the support of the officer of the military training camp who urges preparedness to prevent war, for no action is demanded of the United States that is not reciprocal on the part of other nations.

The United States has made no such treaty. The Bryan treaties were for conciliation, the disputants remaining free to reject the recommendation of the commission. The Root treaties excepted questions of vital interest or national honor. War is not outlawed under any of them.

To arouse popular interest the American Arbitration Crusade, 114 East Thirty-first Street, New York City, offers the following prizes: $100 for the best letter, editorial, or article on the subject of arbitration appearing in any paper of at least 5,000 circulation; $100 for the best public demonstration or concerted endeavor for obligatory arbitration; $100 for the best cartoon; $100 for the best slogan; $100 for the best sermon. All contests close July 4, 1927.

*New York, January 11* WILLIAM FLOYD

## Guns for Victims

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I regret your dictum that "a federal law limiting drastically the importation and transportation of revolvers would [help] end gunmen and banditry." It may be delicately suggested that the present federal control of hard liquor is a parallel of how the proposed law would work in practice. Such a law would surely tend to raise the now scandalously high price of good firearms. I would venture that in periods of high-pressure banditry there exists a class molded by economic environment and training which comes to believe that to rob and kill is a good life. On this I have no statistics, but have the impression that such periods generally follow after times of war. In other words, illegal robbery survives after the lawful form is temporarily suspended.

It may be rash to propose the arming of the victim class, not the vain attempt to disarm the predatory poor. But I know from personal experience and some observation that even a mob recruited from the American Legion and the Knights of Columbus will prefer for its victim the unskilled in arms, and will only growl at those who are ready, able, and willing to make a two-sided affair of the armed raid. From among many inept acts of government we must except the order for military patrols of the mails. It seems to work.

The only effective alternative to arming the victim class would be the continental system of registration, passports, and police espionage of citizens, immensely more irksome than the cheerful duty of target practice.

Anyway, I'll say this: If all my guns were taken away by some government snooper, I would exercise diligence in getting others, with all needful accessories.

*Butte, Montana, January 1* HARLOW PEASE

## Endow Men

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your plea for the "endowment of men," as well as the endowment of "chairs," needs to be emphasized. We all know that men, especially young men, if they could be freed from economic pressure, would make outstanding leaders in liberal movements. There is no man who deserves our sympathy more than a young man of promise, full of ideals and decision of character, who must repress his zeal because of the necessity of making a living. When middle life is reached and sufficient income provided, the urge to carry on for a more liberal economic order has often been lost.

It is because of the economic problem that we have so few "genuinely independent individuals capable of taking intelligent charge of their own lives," as is urged by Harry Emerson Fosdick. If some such men could be "endowed," the world would greatly gain thereby.

*Denver, Colorado, January 3* WILLIAM E. SWEET

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Books and Plays

## Death and Dancing

By DONALD KIRKLEY

Dancing, they talked of the dead girl Anna.
They were sad, thinking of Anna.
Dancing lightly, dancing gracefully, they were sad, thinking of Anna.
Saxophone, violin, drum
Droned out a sweet waltz, a soft waltz, a slow waltz.
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one*.
The dead girl Anna had roses in her hair,
The dead girl Anna, God but she was fair.
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one*.
"Your hair is sweet, your body is fair,
Anna's body tonight is where?"
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three.
She was Anna's friend,
He was Anna's lover:
Will the dancing never end?
The earth is cold above her.
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three.
Lithe in his arms, warm in his arms,
She dances gracefully, thinking of death.
Strong in her arms, solid in her arms,
He dances lightly, thinking of death.
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three.
Death and dancing, dancing and death.
Death has taken Anna, Anna was a dancer,
Anna was a dancer and danced with death.
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three.
Pirouette sadly, fair friend of Anna,
Whirl around lightly, man who loved Anna,
Pirouette, whirl around, thinking of Anna,
Thinking of Anna, dancing, dancing, thinking of Anna, thinking of death.
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three,
*One* two three, *one* two three, *one* two three, *one*.

## First Glance

"NOW and then he would start and exclaim: 'Oh, that I were young again! I would go to America, too. Hey! what a country it will be, Mr. Audubon.' I retorted by exclaiming, 'Hey! what a country it is already, Mr. Bewick!'" Thus the author of "The Birds of America" to the author of "British Birds," as the two sat over their hot brandy toddy in Newcastle in April, 1827. It was very nearly a hundred years ago, and the enthusiasm of the younger man may be explained either by that fact or by the nature of his genius, which was first to adore birds and after that to adore America. Lewis Mumford has recently written of the golden day when America had men like Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Whitman, and Melville. He might have touched the brow of John James Audubon as he went along; the radiance of a golden age was there, too, and it is still there for anyone who will open any of the five volumes of "Ornithological Biography" and read. Such a reader may well be interested in what is said there about birds; he is sure to be captivated by the occasional episodes which tell of more general things seen and done by Audubon as he tramped through his beloved Ohio and Mississippi river valleys. These now, it is pleasant to know, are collected and for the first time separately printed under their original title, "Delineations of American Scenery and Character," by the biographer of Audubon, Francis Hobart Herrick (G. A. Baker and Company: $4.50).

Born in Haiti in 1785, the natural son of a French lieutenant and a Creole woman, Audubon lived as a boy in France. But as soon as occasion offered he sailed swiftly back to the hemisphere which was to be his hunting-ground. "I gazed with rapture upon its noble forests, and no sooner had I landed than I set myself to mark every object that presented itself, and became imbued with an anxious desire to discover the purpose and import of that nature which lay spread around me in luxuriant profusion." In his youth he had read of the golden age. Here now he thought he had found it; and nothing ever disillusioned him. On he plunged into the forests, on he trudged along the trails, on he went past river towns and hidden settlements; and all of the people, like all of the trees, were heroes in his eyes. He gives an account that would have been pleasing to Homer of a night spent in the lonely cabin of young Willy and Eliza; the pair are as hospitable to him as Baucis and Philemon—though they were old—once were to Jupiter and Mercury among the Phrygian hills. The fugitive slave, living with his wife and three children in a cane-brake which the separate owners of the five would never penetrate, rises to classic stature when Audubon discovers him and talks to him. The youth of Kentucky advancing to a barbecue resemble "a procession of nymphs and disguised divinities." Audubon has heard the squatters along the lower Mississippi dismissed as "a sallow, sickly-looking sort of miserable beings," and he goes to inspect them. "See the joyous mother and daughters as they stand on the bank!" They are expecting their joyous husband and father home from New Orleans whither he has floated a raft of saw-logs. "A store of vegetables lies around them, a large tub of fresh milk is at their feet, and in their hands are plates filled with rolls of butter." What difference if our glorious bird-painter was deceived? At all events he could write endlessly in this rapturous strain without growing tiresome, so great and so pure was his energy. Perhaps he was not deceived.

MARK VAN DOREN

## Secretary Houston Recalls

*Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet—1913 to 1920.* By David F. Houston. Doubleday, Page and Company. Two volumes. $10.

THE publishers make surprising claims for this work. They say that "no other living man knows as much about Woodrow Wilson as David F. Houston," and further that "Houston opens the first true complete record of Wilson and his conduct of the government at home." I do not find justification for these statements in the 457,000 words before me. And a very different story is told in the author's modest foreword. Speaking of himself in the third person, he says:

> The record is a partial one only, and it is necessarily partial because he made no attempt except incidentally or occasionally even to indicate the views or deal with the activities of other members of the Cabinet. He offers it not as a complete or balanced account of the events, but as a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contemporaneous record which may help to fill in the picture of eight important years and be of value to the historian.

Bearing strictly in mind these limitations, it may be said that the author fulfils his undertaking.

Secretary Houston so carefully observes the rule of silence with respect to his Cabinet associates that we must look elsewhere even for the names of some of them. Those for whom the rule is relaxed will not all be grateful for the attention given them. Bryan is the only colleague to be given a "close up" in the picture; and his friends will regret this distinction. Houston's rigorous mind admitted no sympathy for Bryan's enthusiasms and personal devotions. They did not seem to be logical. His break with the President has been so thoroughly ventilated by friends and foes of both men that we have only repetition, not revelation, in these volumes. From the author's lump-sum estimate of Wilson's Cabinet we learn that at least a third of its members must be taken as "liabilities." Wilson's consultations with his advisers, as reported by Houston, were not illuminating. They were rarely (if ever) determinative of important matters. Many Presidential decisions seem to have been made without reference to Cabinet opinions.

Much detail is given concerning the Federal Reserve Act and concerning our naval and military establishments. Full account appears of the operations of the Department of Agriculture; but there will not be universal agreement with the author's estimate of the importance of this Department's efforts toward increase of crop production. Many will suspect that high prices were sufficient to account for the results actually attained. In a chapter on Inter-Allied war debts the case, developed up to 1920, is well presented. The extreme cancellationists offer some considerations, political and sentimental, which are not touched upon by our author; but we have from him the official foundations of this controversy.

Many readers will turn to the long chapter called An Estimate of Woodrow Wilson, hoping there to find leading and light. Concerning these pages the author himself expresses a view which may well be adopted by the reader. "It is not even satisfactory to me, and I shall doubtless revise it as I get sidelights from his other friends, from his critics, and from new materials." It is pleasant to read Houston's tribute to Wilson's unselfishness. He comments upon the directness and lucidity of the President's intellectual processes, while emphasizing the fact that, as described by himself, his was "a single-track mind."

Wilson's treatment of the Mexican situation remains where other records have left it. Insistence upon the wrong of interference with a people struggling toward true democracy, followed by sudden determination to use force in the suppression of Mexican revolutions—that is the picture. We know from other sources that the tragic order to seize the Vera Cruz custom house was sleepily made by the President at half-past two in the morning. Admiral Mayo's aggressive demand for a salute to our flag had little to do with the decision. Our rulers decided that an expected cargo of arms should not be received in Vera Cruz harbor. A number of lives—American and Mexican—were sacrificed. The resulting good, if any, is to be found among the imponderables. The arms were duly landed a few miles down the coast. The sending of an army and banners into the heart of Mexico to avenge a bandit raid is not discussed by Houston. Indeed he leaves the "mess," as he calls it, where Mohammed's coffin was left.

As to the World War, Page, House, Tumulty, Daniels, Ray Stannard Baker, and many others—officials and intimates of the Administration—have preceded our author in the field. We learn from him of his own positive condemnation of all things German. Indeed it appears from these memoirs that, with the exception of Bryan, practically no member of the original Cabinet heeded the President's early injunction to "think neutrally." From Tumulty we have learned that Wilson himself rejected such an attitude in 1914 as in 1917. Houston emphasizes his own hearty acceptance of the extreme views that became Wilson's orthodoxy when the President finally unbosomed himself to the world. The record before us was made by a belligerent. It is not disturbed by recent disclosures of historians on both sides of the Atlantic. Nor is it affected by President Wilson's violent denunciation of French post-war policies. It reveals the state of mind out of which wars are made in Berlin, London, Paris, and Washington.

OSCAR T. CROSBY

# The World's Disillusion

*Wedlock.* By Jacob Wassermann. Translated by Ludwig Lewisohn. Boni and Liveright. $2.50.

WHEN a novelist stops being an artist and for some reason decides to turn himself into a priest he thereby sets his powers to the doing of bloody-minded work. He is no longer content to let his characters play their own lives and bring about their own doom. Once upon a time he would let them speak from their own hearts and go their ways. He never showed in his own person. He was a god invisible. Now that he has become a priest he drags his men and women up the steps of the temple and lays them on the altar. Haloed and garmented in a sacrificial zeal he cuts out the heart and examines the entrails and makes speeches to the crowd in the temple and prays to his god. He slays his own inventions for the sake of an idea or to explain a system of thought or for the good of society or to appease a wrathful divinity. As his victims lie with their hearts torn out and their mouths stopped with blood he discourses on their souls and informs the worshipful crowd that these victims are types and symbols of society (not men and women by their own nature) and that by their example the ills of life may be cured.

Since "Christian Wahnschaffe" (mysteriously translated as "The World's Illusion") Wassermann has somehow learned the vows and duties of priesthood. In almost all of "Gold" and "Oberlin's Three Stages" he did give us the drama of life rather than ideas and symbols of life; but even in those books one could see the mantle of prophecy and revelation gather like a cloud round his shoulders. The characters were not all men and women. They were something else: like a woman ceasing to be a woman and becoming *das Ewig-Weibliche.* Now in "Laudin und die Seinen" (mysteriously translated as "Wedlock") Wassermann has taken the last initiation of modern priesthood. In other words he has been reading psychology. Instead of letting the world of life go by in haunting and unforgettable pictures as he does in "Christian Wahnschaffe" he invents Laudin and his wife Pia and most of the other characters only that he may pull down the pillars of society and show the gray rats gnawing at the timbers. He has all his old impressive magnificence. The only difference is that he has renounced the world and taken up the study of sociology. In so doing he has ceased being the only near fellow we have had in these times to Dostoevski and joined H. G. Wells and all other lecturers to whom humanity seems of much less importance than a system of ideas.

Fortunately Wassermann cannot altogether escape his own powers. His books still stand like cities cut from basalt and hued with the cloudy light of a somber sun. Rivers flood from obscene cellars and bear a ghastly freight of men and women drowned in muddy waters of sin and their souls white like leprosy. Tender and brave hearts are racked with pain and thrown into sulphurous pits of betrayal and crime and wrong. All the agony and idealism and heroic futility of life crowd into pages ribbed with an adamantine austerity. Yet there remains the fatal difference from most of the earlier works. The men and women cease talking. Long essays in indirect discourse and letters written from one character to another and endless pages of analysis drag their slow length like wise pythons and crush the bones of action and swallow every semblance of living life. It is very much as if at every per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formance of the "Ring" operas it was made customary for a lecturer to get up in a box and chant Wagner's system of metaphysics through the rolling groundswell of the music.

Laudin is a lawyer of distinguished eminence. More and more with the years he goes down and down into the muddy cellars which rot under the base of the majestic temple of justice. He stands appalled by the impotence of the law to bring any happiness or ease of pain or relief from obscure misery to the men and women who come to his office for advice and counsel. The profound and obscure springs of human emotion and conduct lie so rooted in the immense dark woods of life that he feels like a man trying to exterminate the fungus on a dying tree by the simple process of reading from a musty book or making a clever speech in court where he is opposed by advocates without scruples or honesty. He is a fly caught in the complex web of society and he cannot find the spider. His wife Pia is a sweet and wholly fleshless *hausfrau* who ministers to his every need. The son of his best friend commits suicide on account of an affair with an actress. He meets the actress and comes near to being meshed in her toils. Case after case of divorce he studies with a growing sense of his utter helplessness to cure the infinite tangle of human maladjustments or to find any one sure way whereby men and women may live in peace. At the last he breaks down and Pia nurses him to health. By some kind of sudden revelation they decide to begin all over again, and loving each other they embark on a new path for some remote ineluctable goal.

The whole book resounds dully from an endless heavy beat of speeches and analysis and introspection. Time after time one lays the thing aside and goes back to "Christian Wahnschaffe" and all its linked scenes of terrible beauty. It looks very much as if Wassermann had set himself to the revelation of all present society. Of course the task is monumental and impressive; and I don't know any other living novelist who can do what Wassermann can do. None the less, ideas perish and take on a green mold of age. Philosophy after philosophy gibbers like a spent ghost. Life remains.

DONALD DOUGLAS

## Oil Intrigues

*The Oil War.* By Anton Mohr. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THE world's oil resources are divided almost evenly among British and American companies and the Soviet Union. Lack of capital makes Russia's role, for the time being, a passive one, and Dr. Mohr is therefore right in seeing the international petrol conflict first and foremost as a bitter struggle between Great Britain and the United States for sources of supply. The author is persuaded that in this fracas England will win and that in a few years—when Uncle Sam's gas tank begins to run low—the United States will be forced to pay Great Britain $1,000,000,000 per annum for oil products without which her autos, industries, and navy would languish.

Meanwhile, however—and the talk of substitutes has changed nothing—the battle for the control of old and new fields continues unabated. Officially, the line-up is Royal Dutch-Shell and Anglo-Persian versus Standard Oil. Actually, "the struggle for oil has developed into a quarrel among the Great Powers comparable to the struggle for colonies in the preceding century."

Dr. Mohr, who is lecturer in political geography at the University of Oslo, is at his best not, as one might expect, when he treats of Europe, but rather in dealing with oil intrigues in Latin America. How the violent and peaceful political developments in Mexico, Central America, and the cap of South America are affected by oil intrigues is a dark if fascinating page of twentieth-century history, and Dr. Mohr does the subject justice. Charles A. Beard and H. K. Norton have suggested that I lay these crimes at the door of malicious capitalists seeking only profits and of corrupt officials interested only in bribes. God forbid! One does well to remember that it is the business of government to insure a future supply of the all-important liquid for the millions of its nationals who ride the bus, drive the car, and turn the lathe. But must the United States defy the Mexican constitution, enthrone and dethrone presidents, and foment revolutions in the states south of us in order to achieve this end? There are decent and legal ways of doing business which cost more dollars but fewer lives and which are more in harmony with the lofty principles diplomats so readily invoke.

Dr. Mohr, however, apparently places little faith in the moral effect of marines and machine-guns, for he believes that despite our geographical proximity, our wealth, and the readiness with which our navy backs up the oil companies England will carry off the victory even in the Monroe Doctrine domain. Her diplomats are more clever. Where the State Department refuses to accept the new Mexican land laws British firms have bowed to the inevitable, and Downing Street must be chuckling over the resentment we have been reaping in Latin America as a result of recent affairs in Nicaragua. We play the bully in Latin America and the liberal in China. Britain plays the liberal in Latin America and the bully in China. In the long run, the bully always gets it in the neck, yet diplomacy remains as inconsistent as ever.

Dr. Mohr's treatment of the Lausanne Conference and of the entire Mosul complex is equally good. But with the exception of these chapters—The Near East and Central America—this volume is disappointing. There are the same old tales about Admiral Fisher and about the use of oil in pre-modern times, the same old anecdotes about the Royal Dutch and the Standard which almost every book in the growing oil library furnishes. The volume seems to have been written in 1922 and faultily brought up to date by means of a few footnotes and added paragraphs. There is no mention of Albania, North Persia, the Genoa and Hague conferences, Sinclair's adventures into international petrol politics, the Teapot Dome, and numerous other important items of oil history. The treatment of Russian oil is extremely inadequate and full of misstatements. The chapters on the Royal Dutch and Standard Oil contain no reference beyond 1922.

"The Oil War" is not a book for the man who has even only a rudimentary knowledge of the petrol problem. But it fills the beginner's need of an introductory study. The truly comprehensive work on the role of oil in international affairs is yet to be written.

LOUIS FISCHER

## A La Viennese

*The City Without Jews.* By Hugo Bettauer. Translated from the German by Salomea Neumark Brainin. Bloch Publishing Company. $2.

HERE, in the guise of a problem novel, is a delightful Viennese operetta which should commend itself for American adaptation to Herr Florenz Ziegfeld, himself a Viennese. Bettauer starts with the fanciful proposition: Can a city do without Jews? The anti-Semitic majority of the Austrian Parliament decide to find out. What happens any New Yorker could have told them in advance. The entire business life of Vienna, from the general merchandising in the department stores to the specialized trade of the gay young things of the demi-monde, withers for the lack of Semitic stimulation. The theaters at one fell stroke lose producers, playwrights, and audiences; the aristocratic patisseries are turned into frankfurter stands; and hobnailed shoes and cotton petticoats are the latest style in the exclusive shop-windows. The great summer resorts, "where formerly the sight of anyone who might be suspected of being a Gentile would have created a sensation," are forced to close down (the author omits the plight of those who thrived on excluding Jews); the newspapers, robbed of their most brilliant feuilletonists, become dull and unreadable;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politics become even duller, for the Christian-Socialist Party loses its only political issue; and, lastly, Leo Strakosch, brilliant young Jewish etcher, is separated from Lotte, his beloved little blonde beast. Vienna, sighing for its lost Jews, is about to slump into a village of a million and a half peasants when there appears on the scene one Henry Dufresne, who is none other than Leo Strakosch disguised as a Frenchman. At the kiss of this Jewish prince the sleeping princess, Vienna, awakens from her Nordic nightmare and, doffing her flannel nightgown, springs gaily into silk step-ins and the latest spike-heeled slippers.

Not very original satire, but fairly entertaining, and on the whole with very little sting to it—particularly as its author was not Jewish but of aristocratic Teutonic stock. So that the tragic fact that on the publication of the book Bettauer was shot down by a twenty-year-old Nordic strikes an unexpected alien note in its high comedy. One rereads it in vain for an explanation, until one comes across the following paragraph:

> It is possible, and even probable, that one cause for the profound and fanatic anti-Semitism among the male inhabitants of Vienna during the last few decades was the fact that the youth with the Hakenkreuz could not stomach the sight of his Jewish rivals snatching away all the pretty girls.

Which perhaps throws some light on the matter. It is pertinent to remark that the young murderer collapsed when he was told that Bettauer was a Christian himself.

Though professing to have no propagandist bias, "A City Without Jews" bears a moral for Hakenkreuzers and Zionists alike, namely, that without Jews Vienna would be less Viennese, Paris less Parisian, Moscow less Muscovite, New York less New Yorkese, and Tel-Aviv (Palestine) decidedly less American.

ALTER BRODY

## When Quakers Turned Adventurers

*A Quaker Adventure.* By A. Ruth Fry. London: Nisbet and Company. 10/6.

NO FUTURE historian of Europe can ignore the picture of devastation, disease, starvation, and suffering which forms the background of Miss Fry's story of Quaker relief work in Europe. And no picture of practical Christianity of the last quarter century will be complete unless it includes many details of the achievements related in her book.

Miss Fry tells how a group of thirty-three pioneers, believing that any direct participation in the war itself was wrong, went out and devoted themselves to alleviating the suffering brought by the war to civilian populations. She sketches the growth of this group in many countries, until in France alone, in 1918-19, there were more than 500 English and American men and women ministering to the extraordinarily varied needs of a population which had lost practically everything by war. In France over 1,000 of these workers altogether served under the red and black star of the Quaker relief.

The book has chapters on the work in France, Holland and Belgium, Serbia, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Germany, with incidental references to other countries. The bare recital of dramatic and often heartrending problems and of equally dramatic achievements in each country is so briefly given that one longs for a full story of the whole enterprise. Those familiar with the events may be amazed at the accuracy of the details which the author has woven into her narrative.

Entire chapters of the book would have to be cited for adequate illustration of the many forms the relief work took. In Germany the main task was the organization and supervision of child-feeding. In Austria an important element was the organizing of farmers and distributors for the restoration of a large and cheap-milk supply to Vienna. In Poland much of the work was fighting disease; but fields in Poland were plowed with Polish war-horses, and tilled with German trench spades bought for four cents each. Agricultural relief was made efficient by a process of pyramiding for usefulness, not for profit. Thus in Poland grain was sold at a nominal price or at a low price on time to peasants. With the proceeds sheep were bought and sold in the same way. The proceeds of the latter transaction were used to purchase fertilizer, which in turn was sold. And so the enterprise went on.

The book should stand on the shelves of every college and every public library as a dispassionate account of a great constructive adventure of unarmed workers, written by one who was both a pioneer in the adventure and a director and leader during its most strenuous period.

EDWARD THOMAS

## Books in Brief

*The Outlook for American Prose.* By Joseph Warren Beach. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

Mr. Beach writes clearly, with insight, good humor, and—that rarest of American characteristics—temperateness. His general criticism of American prose is summed up in his statement that "what American prose most lacks is flavor . . . we do not seem to love words as the English and French love them, and we do not pick them with jealous affection and arrange them with fastidious care." Few will disagree with this statement. Superficial culture is the most apparent cause, but economic pressure is unquestionably a factor. Naturally, there are a few exceptions. But these are not as numerous as is generally thought. Mr. Beach finds tarnish on several literary halos. Mr. Hergesheimer, sometimes praised for his style, is proved guilty of extremely bad English and incoherency. Mr. Van Vechten, "the Baedeker of the intelligentsia," is charged with unpardonable solecisms and, in fact, the writing of downright nonsense. On the other hand, there are signs of hope, as in the case of Sherwood Anderson.

*William Blake.* By Osburt Burdett. English Men of Letters. The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

Mr. Burdett has steered a lucid path through the maze of Blake's poems and designs. He has kept the twofold aspect of Blake's genius always clearly in mind, and he never absents himself from the question how much harm—and how much good—Blake's lack of education did him. His decision in favor of the first seems to be arrived at a little too easily, so that we get not even an attempt to evaluate the Prophetic Books in their own terms. While the essay is on the whole a useful one, it has the failing common to most of the volumes in the new series of the English Men of Letters—it brightly evades all the difficult problems.

*Step Child of the Moon.* By Fulton Oursler. Harper and Brothers. $2.

The idea behind Mr. Oursler's novel is good, and were it developed to even one-half of its possibilities we should have an interesting book. But the author has given us stock melodrama—absurd situations and tricky avoidances of solutions to definite problems. Platitudes, ragtag erudition, and stupid local color parade the pages in full panoply, and the whole affair degenerates into one of those novels which make one wonder why Bertha Clay was so harshly criticized.

*Demosthenes.* By Georges Clemenceau. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

"Demosthenes" is well worth reading. One may take it as a lively biography of the Athenian orator or as the spiritual biography of the "Tiger." From either angle it has interest. Its future significance will depend upon the extent of Clemenceau's posthumous fame. Otherwise it is not important.

*Dymer.* By Clive Hamilton. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.

An interesting narrative, in uninteresting verse, of a spiritual experience.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Primitives: Poems and Woodcuts.* By Max Weber. The Spiral Press. $7.50.

The woodcuts are worthy of some of the attention now being given to Negro sculpture; the medium is new, and the execution is impressive. The poems are negligible.

*The Candle in the Cabin. A Weaving Together of Script and Singing.* By Vachel Lindsay. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

The third volume, indistinguishable from the others, in Mr. Lindsay's series of thin books of pictures and verse.

*The Singing Crow and Other Poems.* By Nathalia Crane. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.

Nathalia Crane continues to promise; but there still is doubt where she will end. Her strong point, of course, is her language—and the reckless use she makes of it. Often fresh and savoring of strength, it is too often at present insignificantly bizarre. There would be no harm in her resting now until she finds out what words mean—even to poets.

# Drama

## Who's Afraid?

A SOMEWHAT forlorn troupe of actors, hopefully calling itself a "permanent company," has set up shop in the little Grove Street Theater and promises a series of playlets from the Grand Guignol in Paris. When Holbrook Blinn failed in a similar enterprise a number of years ago it was currently reported that the American public was not sufficiently sophisticated to support such an institution, but if it fails now—and I suspect that even a more competent company would fail—an opposite reason may be alleged with at least equal show of truth. If ten or a dozen years ago the American public was too unsophisticated to value a bill of mere shockers, it is too sophisticated for them now.

Perhaps there was a certain phase in the development of the modern theater when obvious and mechanical little plays which have nothing to recommend them except labored impropriety and crude horror had a certain function. Given a theater dripping with sweetness and drenched in light like that which was once ours, and almost anything is a relief. After a prolonged diet composed exclusively of "clean comedy," "optimistic sentiment," and "wholesome drama," mere blood and mere obscenity are healthful and invigorating. In the absence of any genuine drama, at a time when everything is merely tepid and innocuous, it is something to be reminded even inadequately that life can be obscene or ghastly, and indeed certain of the one-act pieces with which the Washington Square Players inaugurated the modern theater in New York did little more than that. But an audience which has in its memory, for example, "What Price Glory?" and half a dozen of O'Neill's plays, is not likely to relish the barren violence of the Grand Guignol. It knows what real drama is. It has seen plays in which real characters suffered real tortures, and it will find the pasteboard horrors of the cheap French shocker merely absurd. Properly to appreciate such pieces one must be in the mood either of the child who wants a ghost story to frighten it or of the adolescent whom the clumsiest impropriety will suffice.

In one respect love and death are much alike—the fundamental processes by which each is accomplished are simple and monotonous—and it is only when we know who is dying or who is making love that either becomes interesting. The mere fact that two members of opposite sex are coupling is not in itself any more comic that the mere fact that someone or other is being killed is tragic; it is just this that the writer of the shocker overlooks. He tortures his brain to find some new and fantastic way in which a murder may be done or an adultery committed; in his search for novelty he may even resort to such desperate expedients as those employed by the respective authors of two of the plays upon the present bill, in one of which the lovers are Lesbian and in the other of which the heroine is seized from behind by a supposedly incurable paralytic who suddenly resumes sufficient control of his projicient apparatus to strangle her; but he neglects to create characters individual enough or credible enough to make us care which are to be buried and which are to be bedded. The result in the present case is two "daring" farces which have nothing except their bad intentions to recommend them and two "thrillers" which are not much more than merely temporarily annoying to the nerves. And, as it is hardly necessary to add, inadequate acting does not improve their effectiveness. In one, it is true, George Renavent (director of the company) gives a vivid performance, and in the same piece Mary Blair is fairly good; but the playing of all the other roles varies only between the pretty bad and the unspeakable.

Frankly, the production of "Ghosts" (Mansfield Theater) in which Mrs. Fiske is appearing is not much better. One has, of course, a respect for this woman who was once a distinguished comedienne, but here she is only a failing woman appearing in a part totally unsuited to her and surrounded by a completely inadequate company. I had always thought of "Ghosts" as a play whose power no performance could hide, but this company, aided apparently by incompetent directors, has achieved the impossible. It has made one of the most moving tragedies of modern times seem thin and feeble. At the Mansfield even Ibsen looks like a bungling playwright.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

# Interesting Books of 1926

CHOSEN BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Abraham Lincoln. By Carl Sandburg. Harcourt, Brace.
The Memoirs of William Hickey. Vol. IV. Knopf.
The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson. By James Kerney. Century.
Fathers of the Revolution. By Philip Guedalla. Putnam.
Edgar Allan Poe. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Knopf.
The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. By Charles Seymour. Houghton Mifflin.
My Apprenticeship. By Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green.
Cortes the Conqueror. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. Bobbs-Merrill.
George Washington. By W. E. Woodward. Boni and Liveright.
Portraits and Portents. By A. G. Gardiner. Harper.
The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States. By Moorfield Storey and Marcial Lichauco. Putnam.
The Decline of the West. By Oswald Spengler. Knopf.
The New Leadership in Industry. By Sam A. Lewisohn. Dutton.
The Art of Thought. By Graham Wallas. Harcourt, Brace.
Education and the Good Life. By Bertrand Russell. Boni and Liveright.
The Story of Philosophy. By Will Durant. Simon and Schuster.
From Goethe to Hauptmann. By Camillo von Klenze. Viking.
Critical Woodcuts. By Stuart P. Sherman. Scribner.
Microbe Hunters. By Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, Brace.
The Arcturus Adventure. By William Beebe. Putnam.
On the Trail of Ancient Man. By Roy Chapman Andrews. Putnam.
Impressions of Old New Orleans. By Arnold Genthe. Doran.
The Romantic Comedians. By Ellen Glasgow. Doubleday, Page.
Show Boat. By Edna Ferber. Doubleday, Page.
Her Son's Wife. By Dorothy Canfield. Harcourt, Brace.
The Kays. By Margaret Deland. Scribner's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# International Relations Section

## The Cause of the Conflict with Mexico

THE following summary of the Mexican-American oil and land-law controversy is abstracted from the December 22 issue of the Foreign Policy Association Information Service. Complete copies of its summary, with the texts of the laws, may be obtained from the association, 18 East Forty-first Street, New York City, for 25 cents.

Four outstanding differences have arisen from the recent land and oil laws adopted by the Mexican Government to carry out the nationalization provisions of the Constitution of 1917:

1. The alleged retroactivity of the land law;
2. The alleged retroactivity of the petroleum law and the question of the modification of titles to oil lands acquired prior to May 1, 1917;
3. The nature of Mexican undertakings at the Conference of Mexico City in May, 1923, preceding recognition by the United States;
4. The Mexican Government's insistence that foreign property owners bind themselves not to invoke the support of their governments, but submit themselves to Mexican jurisdiction in all disputes where their property interests are concerned on penalty, if they do invoke the support of their government, of forfeiting their property. . . .

### The Land Law

The agrarian provisions of the Constitution of 1917 gave constitutional status to the earlier agrarian decrees of January 6, 1915. These provisions gave sanction to the division of landed estates. Further agrarian measures were promulgated in December, 1920, December, 1921, and April, 1922.

The Mexican Foreign Minister, in a communication on March 31, 1923, explained the difficulties arising out of the redistribution of lands in Mexico:

> This administration succeeded in quelling such center of rebellion and in reestablishing peace throughout the national territory, not so much by military force and bloodshed as by the quick application of agrarian laws. Nobody doubts that, facing such dilemma, the adopted solution was the most humanitarian and economic one—in spite of the inevitable damage to individual national and foreign agricultural interests.

The American Commissioner at the conference of 1923 declared that

> Under the rules of international law there can be no taking of lands, water rights, or other property of American citizens, in whatever form their interests may be held, legally acquired prior to May 1, 1917, under the laws of Mexico and the Constitution of 1857, without indemnification in cash at the time of the taking for the just value thereof;

and added that the United States cannot recognize any right of Mexico under the terms of any law to pay in bonds or to compel American citizens to accept bonds as compensation for land, and that the indemnity which the Government of the United States believes Mexico should pay for these lands is their just value in cash.

The Mexican Commissioners declared that although excesses may have been committed, the Government had always endeavored by all means within its power to comply with the law in all cases and that the bonds paid by way of indemnity would be redeemed, if a special loan in order to pay in cash all the indemnities for the expropriation of lands were concluded. They also promised restitution of property confiscated or wrongfully taken from their owners during the revolution and to have all claims settled by the Mixed Claims Commission.

### The Question of Retroactivity

The land law regulating Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution was promulgated January 21, 1926. The prohibition of aliens acquiring land or being shareholders in Mexican companies owning land within 100 kilometers of the frontiers or 50 kilometers of the coasts or being shareholders in Mexican companies which may acquire such ownership in the prohibited zones contained in the constitution was amplified in Article 1 of the organic law. Secretary Kellogg inquired on March 1, 1926, whether this law was to be given retroactive effect. Minister Saenz in his answer declared that Article 1 of the land law was not retroactive and that it did not refer to an alien with property rights as described by Secretary Kellogg.

Article 2 of the land law prescribes that all aliens agree before the Department of Foreign Relations to consider themselves nationals in respect to any property rights which they may hold. Again Secretary Kellogg inquired of Minister Saenz whether this law was to have retroactive effect with reference to aliens "who prior to the promulgation of the law had acquired an interest in a Mexican company." Minister Saenz assured Secretary Kellogg that Article 2 required no compliance b aliens "who prior to the promulgation of the law had acquired an interest in a Mexican company."

Article 3 of the land law specifies that a permit shall not be granted to aliens owning a majority interest in Mexican companies owning rural property for agricultural purposes. Minister Saenz denied that Article 3 was retroactive and stated that "an alien who before the promulgation of the law held an interest in a Mexican company does not need to apply for any permit."

It is provided in the land law that the present owners possessing rights legally acquired prior to the going into effect of the law and contrary to the provisions of the new law shall hold them until their death, in the case of individuals, and for ten years, in the case of corporations, after lapse of which the interest in question will have to be disposed of under penalty of forced sale. Minister Saenz held that the articles containing these provisions were "not retroactive because the rights acquired by aliens prior to the going into effect of the law would be conserved by the present owners until their death. . . ."

Finally the seventh article requires that

> Aliens who may possess any of the rights which are the subject matter of this law, and which were acquired before the going into effect of the law, shall make a declaration [of their rights] before the Department of Foreign Relations within the year following the date of the promulgation of the present law. If this is not done it will be considered that the acquisition was made subsequent to the promulgation of this law [and therefore subject to its provisions].

Minister Saenz pointed out that aliens only have to make a declaration, which declaration must be a statement of such rights previously acquired.

The Mexican land law, like the petroleum law, requires foreigners to waive their nationality in so far as Mexican-owned property is concerned.

### The Petroleum Law of December 31, 1925

Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917 containing the new dispositions with respect to the rights of foreigners to petroleum deposits in Mexico marked a complete departure from regulations previously governing these rights. Under the old mining codes of 1884, 1892, and 1909, owners of the surface, whether natives or foreigners, were given the right to exploit subsoil deposits of petroleum as owners and without

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROOSEVELT HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARY
Minneapolis, Minnesota



## SCHOOL

The Training School for Jewish Social Work offers a fifteen months' course of study in Jewish Family Case Work, Child Care, Community Centers, Federations and Health Centers.
The course is open to graduates of colleges and universities of recognized standing.
Several tuition scholarships and maintenance fellowships are available to especially qualified students.
Special courses will be arranged for social workers in accordance with their needs.
For information, address the Director

**THE TRAINING SCHOOL *for* JEWISH SOCIAL WORK**
(Initiated by the National Conference of Jewish Social Service)
**210 WEST 91st STREET NEW YORK CITY**

## DINNERS

**ARTHUR PONSONBY, M. P.**
**(First appearance in America)**
*head of the movement to obtain a million pledges not to support any future declaration of war by Great Britain,*
WILL BE GUEST OF HONOR AT A DINNER OF THE
**Women's Peace Society**
**Hotel Astor, New York, January 25, 1927, 7 P. M.**
*For reservations, at $3.50 a plate, write at once to*
**Women's Peace Society, 20 Vesey St., New York**

**LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL** *ANNUAL DINNER and SYMPOSIUM*
Fifth Ave. Restaurant, 200 Fifth Ave.
*JANUARY 29th, 7 P. M.*
*Subject:* OUR CHANGING MORALS
*Speakers:* LEWIS BROWNE, EVERETT DEAN MARTIN, JOHN COWPER POWYS, DR. HANNAH STONE, ART YOUNG, EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, and WILL DURANT.
Reservations ($3.00) at Labor Temple, 244 E. 14th St. No appeal for funds

## LECTURES

**COSMIC ECONOMICS**
Orthodox economics is the business of earning a living; *COSMIC ECONOMICS* is the art of learning to live.
*Lectures by*
**Leslie Watson Fearn of London, England**
HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, 12:30 P. M.
Jan. 26th—The Psychology of Strikes
Feb. 2nd—The Philosophy of Higher Economics
*Dr. Fearn broadcasts from WMCA Saturdays, 9 P. M.*
Collection to defray expenses.

**PROF. GAETANO SALVEMINI**
will speak on
**ITALY UNDER FASCISM**
at the Open Forum Meeting of the
SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE, 2 West 64th Street, New York
Monday, January 24th, at 8:15 P. M.
The Public Is Invited.

The Nation's
MID-WINTER BOOK NUMBER
February 16
*The winners of the Poetry Contest and the Prize Poem will be printed in this issue.*

# The New School
## *for Social Research*

**SPRING TERM**
**February 21—May 13**

E. R. A. SELIGMAN—Economic Interpretations of History and Doctrine. Thursdays, 5.20 P. M.
NORMAN J. WARE—Recent Developments in Economic Thought and Practice. Tuesdays, 8.20 P. M.
WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY—Critique of Corporation Policy. Wednesdays, 8.20 P. M.
PAUL SINGER—Current Problems in International Finance. Mondays, 8.20 P. M.
FREDERICK R. MACAULAY—Business Forecasting. Fridays, 8.20 P. M.
CHARLES M. JOSEPH—Labor and the Law. Thursdays, 8.20 P. M.
ARTHUR F. PAYNE—Systems of Vocational Guidance. Fridays, 5.20 P. M.
Psychology of the Worker. Wednesdays, 8.20 P. M.
NATHANIEL PEFFER—Imperialism and Its Practical Implications. Thursdays, 8.20 P. M.
The Present Status of Adult Education. Tuesdays, 8.20 P. M.
HARRY E. BARNES—Intellectual History of Contemporary Times. Wednesdays, 5.20 P. M.
The World War: Its Causes and Aftermath. Wednesdays, 8.20 P. M.
IRA S. WILE—Conduct Disorders of Childhood and Adolescence. Mondays, 5.20 P. M.
FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS—The Possible Significance of Psychoanalysis for Certain Social Relationships. Mondays, 8.20 P. M.
DUDLEY D. SHOENFELD—Interpretation of Conduct Disorders. Thursdays, 8.20 P. M.
HARRY A. OVERSTREET—The Newer Clues to Human Behavior. Mondays, 8.20 P. M.
MORRIS R. COHEN—Romantic Currents in Contemporary Thought. Tuesdays, 8.20 P. M.
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN—Conference on Fundamental Problems in Adult Education. Wednesdays, 8.20 P. M.
EDUARD C. LINDEMAN—Adult Education—Method and Content. Mondays, 5.20 P. M.
LETA S. HOLLINGWORTH—Individuality. Mondays, 8.20 P. M.
SILAS BENT—Modern Journalism. Thursdays, 8.20 P. M.
GORHAM B. MUNSON—American Literature, 1900-1927. Tuesdays, 8.20 P. M.
STARK YOUNG—Theatrical Season, 1927. Tuesdays, 5.20 P. M.
PAUL ROSENFELD—Modern Composers (Lectures and piano). Fridays, 8.20 P. M.

**Twelve lectures in each course. Course tickets, $15**
*Write for catalogue.*

**465 West 23rd Street New York City**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

special concession from the Mexican Government. The deposits of mineral fuels were "the exclusive ownership of the owner of the soil." The rights acquired by foreigners under the provisions of the old laws were complete and not subject to geographic limits.

The change in the constitution consists primarily of the extension of the doctrine of nationalization of subsoil deposits to petroleum and other substances. "In the nation," Article 27 provides, "is vested direct ownership of all minerals or substances . . . and petroleum and all hydrocarbons, solid, liquid, or gaseous."

The nation's ownership of its natural resources was defined as "inalienable," but authorization to exploit the subsoil deposits might be granted in concessions to private parties or corporations organized under the laws of Mexico.

> Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have the right to acquire ownership in lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their governments in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the nation of property so acquired. Within a zone of 100 kilometers from the frontiers, and of 50 kilometers from the sea coast, no foreigner shall under any conditions acquire direct ownership of lands and waters.

### United States Position

The State Department does not deny the right of Mexico to make new laws governing the acquisition of property in the future. "This right," wrote Secretary Kellogg in a recent communcation, "cannot be questioned by any other state. If Mexico desires to prevent the future acquisition by aliens of property rights of any nature within its jurisdiction this government has no suggestion whatever to make." In recognizing this right of the Mexican Government the State Department, however, took care to point out on January 28, 1926, that the retroactive effect of any such law by damaging the rights of foreigners acquired prior to its promulgation would put it under the "positive duty to make representations and efforts to avoid such action."

The Mexican Constitution of 1917 had provided in Article 14 that "no law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." On the other hand, Article 27 nationalized petroleum deposits previously regarded as the property of the owner of the surface. Five famous cases before the Supreme Court of Mexico in 1921 declared that Paragraph 4 of Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 was not retroactive. The petroleum law of December 31, 1925, in providing, as did the constitution, for the nationalization of petroleum deposits and for the granting of petroleum concessions to Mexicans and foreigners under certain conditions, obliges the owners of vested rights secured prior to May 1, 1917, to exchange their titles for concessions of not more than fifty years' duration.

The petroleum law of 1925 provides moreover a series of definitions and distinctions as well as specific requirements affecting holders of oil land titles.

> The following rights [it reads] will be confirmed without any cost whatever and by means of concessions granted in conformity with this law:
>
> (a) those arising from lands in which works of petroleum exploitation were begun prior to May 1, 1917;
>
> (b) those arising from contracts made before May 1, 1917, by the surface owner or the successors in title for the express purpose of exploitation of petroleum. . . .

It is around these laws that the most recent and most critical discussion has centered.

The State Department has held since the first discussion of the petroleum law that each of these requirements of the


The Nation Editors choose 8 BONI & LIVERIGHT books as among the most interesting books of the year.

THE GOLDEN DAY
by LEWIS MUMFORD Author of STICKS AND STONES
GEORGE SANTAYANA writes: "The best book about America, if not the best American book that I have ever read." 2nd edition. $2.50

TAR A MIDWEST CHILDHOOD
by Sherwood Anderson

"Little Tar Moorehead makes Penrod look like a circus ring small boy. He is a fugitive breath of boyhood, caught on paper by one supposed to be the starkest, most ironical realist in our midst."—George Currie, Brooklyn Eagle. 2nd edition. $3.00

PERSONAE
The Collected Poems of Ezra Pound

"A poet who is the historian of the world," writes Mr. Ford Madox Ford in The N. Y. Herald-Tribune and goes on to call a section of the volume one of the most beautiful books of poetry in the world. Special format $3.50

GEORGE WASHINGTON THE IMAGE AND THE MAN
by W. E. Woodward

"Out of these brilliant pages—and they are brilliant—emerged the man. Mr. Woodward unfolds the wrappings and gets down to flesh. Mr. Woodward has a knack for characterizations in a sentence. Mr. Woodward has given us the most brilliant, cynical, and clever portrait."—Claude G. Bowers, The Nation. 4th edition. $4.00

THE GREAT GOD BROWN, THE FOUNTAIN—THE MOON OF THE CARIBBEES And Other Plays
by Eugene O'Neill

The latest volume in the collected edition of the plays of Eugene O'Neill. Large 12mo., stained top. $2.50. The complete set, boxed, five volumes, $12.50

THE DYBBUK
by S. Ansky
Trans. by Henry Alsberg and Winifred Katzin

Besides the text of this tremendous drama, the volume contains an essay by the noted Hebrew scholar, Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky, and the music of several of the chants sung in the play. Second edition. $2.00

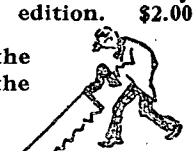
VIRGIN SPAIN
by Waldo Frank

"Here in the flood of ephemeral books is one that is concerned with the mystery of life; that uses wit and learning, pity and wisdom, and passion and craftsmanship to bring this mystery close to us."—Alice Beal Parsons, The Nation. 2nd edition. $3.00

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF MARTHA HEPPLETHWAITE by Frank Sullivan

"In our humble opinion, Frank Sullivan is a genuine humorist and a great one."—Milt Gross. "His very name is a signal for merriment.... Inimitably funny—cannot be described by comparison with any other humorist."—Providence Sunday Journal. 3rd edition. $2.00

If you want to get advance news of some of the most interesting books of 1927, write in for the new Spring 1927 catalog.



BONI & LIVERIGHT, 61 W. 48th Street, New York
Please send me a copy of your new Spring 1927 catalog.
Name.....
Address.....




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exican law is in violation of the rights of American citizens
n the ground that the provisions are retroactive and affect
ne scope and value of properties to which titles were obtained
rior to the promulgation of the laws in question. . . .

The Mexican Government has denied that there is any
etroactivity in the present law. It held that both the con-
itution and the five *amparo* cases before the Supreme Court
f Mexico in 1921 bore out this contention prior to the pro-
ulgation of the present law.

### Mexico Denies Retroactivity

At the Conference of 1923 the Mexican Commissioners de-
ed any desire or intention on the part of their government
impair the rights of foreigners having titles legally acquired
rior to 1917.

> It is the duty of the Federal Executive powers under the constitution to respect and enforce the decisions of the judiciary power. In accordance with such duty the Executive has respected and enforced, and will continue to do so, the principles of the decision of the Supreme Court of Justice in the Texas Oil Company case and four other similar *amparo* cases declaring that Paragraph 4 of Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 is not retroactive. . . .

he principle of retroactivity was condemned also in the corre-
ondence of the Mexican Foreign Minister, who on November
25, when the petroleum law was under discussion, admitted
in accordance with international law acquired rights may
ot be harmed. He insisted, however, that if a state respected
roperty rights, it need not respect these rights just as they
xisted at the time of the acquisition. In another note the
Iexican Foreign Minister wrote:

> that a subsequent law may modify a status in law created by a previous law without being retroactive. . . . It is always assumed that a new law is an improvement on the preceding one, and the only limitation to be placed on the application of such new law is that it shall not be retroactive, and it is not as long as it does not infringe upon any right that has already been put into effect.

### What Is Retroactivity?

The exposition of the principle of retroactivity in the
Iexican correspondence introduces a modifying idea. A law
s not retroactive, it is held, "as long as i does not infringe
pon any right that has already been put into effect."

This modifying clause raises the question as to when and
ow a vested right is acquired. Nothing in international af-
airs could be of a more legalistic character than such a dis-
ussion. It is here that the greatest divergence between the
ontentions of the United States and Mexico is to be found.
The Mexican Commissioners at the Conference of 1923 held
hat a petroleum title is not complete unless it is confirmed
y a positive act. Various legal authorities were quoted to
upport this view, in particular the treatise of Fernando Vega,
Mexican jurist who in 1905 elaborated the doctrine that rights
which are granted by law "are not considered as acquired
ights . . . except when they are exercised."

This distinction is based on the existence of "positive
cts" prior to 1917 manifesting the intention on the part of
he owners of the surface to exploit the subsoil deposits. These
full titles are defined in the petroleum law as:

(a) Those arising from lands where works of petroleum
xploitation were begun prior to May 1, 1917; and

(b) Those arising from contracts made prior to May 1,
1917, for express purposes of petroleum exploitation. . . .

The Mexican Government proposes to exchange only vested
itles for concessions of fifty years' duration. In apparent con-
radiction to the statements made by Mexican Commissioners
n the 1923 Conference as to the policy of the Mexican Gov-
rnment to grant preferential rights to such persons who had
erformed no positive acts, Secretary Kellogg pointed out:
"The law in question seems to give no preferential rights to
uch owners or persons." Secretary Kellogg holds each of

*"The Selection Is Beyond Criticism"*
*—Will Durant*

GOLDEN TALES of ANATOLE FRANCE

Admirers of Anatole France will welcome the opportunity of possessing in a single volume so many of his best stories. This collection, a score of his best-known tales, such as "The Procurator of Judea," "Olivier's Brag," "Crainquebille" and other favorites, is taken from various volumes of short stories. A golden book by a master of short story writing.

*Handsomely printed and bound. $3.00*

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, 449 Fourth Avenue, NEW YORK

YOUR LEISURE A PLEASURE
YOUR PLEASURE A PROFIT

You can ensure yourself one evening's pleasant reading a week during the coming winter by devoting it to

The Manchester Guardian
WEEKLY

You will like its freshness of viewpoint coupled with the accuracy of its facts.

It is a store-house of information on international politics, European trends of thought, current English literature, and cultural developments the world over.

The intellectually inclined in more than sixty countries depend on The Manchester Guardian Weekly to keep them furnished with reliable information on all important world happenings and on new trends of thought in various countries.

——————MAIL THIS COUPON——————

To The Manchester Guardian Weekly,
222 West 42nd Street,
New York City.

I enclose three dollars for a year's subscription to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, to be mailed direct from Manchester, England, to:

Name .....

Address .....




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these measures retroactive in substance and impairing the legal rights of American citizens in Mexico.

### The Calvo Clause

The provision of the Mexican Constitution which requires all foreigners acquiring lands in Mexico to agree to certain stipulations before the Department of Foreign Affairs, known as the Calvo Clause, has also been the subject of protest by the State Department. This provision has been reaffirmed in the recent petroleum law and as it now stands requires that all foreigners who desire to obtain petroleum concessions must "agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property and agree not to invoke the protection of their governments in respect to the same under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the nation of property so acquired."

Secretary Kellogg on January 8, 1926, denied that an American citizen could extinguish the obligation of his government to protect him in the event of a denial of justice and elaborated the American stand in the note of January 28 as follows:

> Article 2 of the recent land law provides that any alien who may have acquired ownership of agricultural lands, waters, or their appurtenances, or concessions for mining . . . shall agree before the Department of Foreign Relations to consider himself a national of Mexico in respect of his part of the property and shall agree not to invoke in respect thereof the protection of his government with reference thereto under penalty, in case of failing in the agreement, of defaulting his property to the nation. . . .
>
> The United States does not admit that one of its citizens can contract by a declaration or otherwise to bind his own government not to invoke its rights under the rules of international law. Under the rules applicable to intercourse between states, an injury done by one state to the citizens of another state through a denial of justice is an injury done to the state whose national is injured. The rights of his state to extend what is known as diplomatic protection cannot be waived by the individual.

The Mexican reply of February 12, 1926, admitted that an individual cannot prevent the state of which he is a citizen from asserting a certain right that belongs to it, but denied that the Mexican law made such an assertion:

> since that which is required is that the alien shall consider himself a national with respect to the property which may belong to him in a Mexican corporation which he enters, and shall not invoke in regard thereto the protection of his government.

### Diplomatic Protection

Secretary Kellogg answering the Mexican rebuttal in his note of March 1, 1926, reasserted that an injury done by one state to a citizen of another through a denial of justice is an injury also to the state whose national is concerned. He added that even though the individual should make a waiver,

> that could not stop his state in case of a denial of justice from extending its right to diplomatic protection or seeking redress in accordance with the principles of international law.

### Arbitration

Article 21 of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, confirmed in the Convention of 1908, between the United States and Mexico reads in part as follows:

> A resort shall not . . . be had to reprisals, aggression or hostility of any kind . . . until the government of that [country] which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered in the spirit of peace and good neighborship whether it would not be better that such differences should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party it shall be acceded to by the other unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the differences or the circumstances of the case.

## Contributors to This Issue

William Hard, veteran Washington correspondent, wrote Mr. Coolidge, Here's a Court, in last week's issue of *The Nation*.

Carleton Beals, who has been living in Mexico for several years, wrote The Nicaraguan Farce in *The Nation* for December 15.

Arthur Warner, associate editor of *The Nation*, spent 1923 in the Caribbean as special correspondent of *The Nation*.

Lewis S. Gannett, associate editor of *The Nation*, has been active in the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society and other anti-imperialist movements.

Donald Kirkley is a poet of Baltimore.

Oscar T. Crosby is author of "International War; Its Causes and Its Cure;" an explorer of note; and was Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury in the Wilson Administration.

Donald Douglas is author of the novel "The Grand Inquisitor." He is at present on the teaching staff of Columbia University.

Louis Fischer, special correspondent of *The Nation* in Germany and Russia, is author of "Oil Imperialism; The International Struggle for Petroleum;" he is now lecturing in the United States.

Alter Brody is a poet, playwright, and essayist of New York.

Edward Thomas is a New York attorney and a Quaker.

***"More straight facts and more sound sense about American economic life than we have ever seen gathered in equal space before."***

—The Nation.

"Describes the economic activities and organizations actually visible in the workaday world, contains the best estimates concerning the national income, its distribution, real wages, etc., and on the whole presents extensively, concretely and entertainingly the sort of material out of which curiosity as to useful theory may grow."—*George Soule, New Republic.*

"A book that has long been needed."—*Boston Transcript.*

**AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE**

**and the Means of its Improvement**

*By*

REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, THOMAS MUNRO, and ROY E. STRYKER.

***$4.50; by mail, $4.65***

**Harcourt, Brace & Co.** 383 Madison Ave. NEW YORK

*When writing to advertisers please mention* The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED